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ABSTRACT

Data are presented on the recipients of Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowships, a federally-funded program supporting specialist training at the graduate level. The information comes from two surveys, one of FLAS recipients who earned a Ph.D. between 1967 and 1979, and the second a sample of those who received FLAS fellowships between 1962 and 1978 and who either chose not to earn a Ph.D. or have not yet completed their doctoral studies. The study's purpose is three-fold: (1) to present a profile of fellowship recipients, their background characteristics, type and depth of graduate training, employment history, and the extent to which they currently use their language and area studies training; (2) to explain differences in the extent of language and area studies usage across occupational categories, world areas, degree cohorts, and academic disciplines; and (3) to identify the policy implications of the findings. It was found that although the training of the specialists has remained relatively static, major changes have occurred in employment and skill utilization patterns. The majority of recipients are currently teaching in colleges and universities, but the proportion has steadily decreased over cohorts, raising questions about whether or not recipients will be able to use and disseminate their skills. It is suggested that the program is in a transitional period and may need to be reshaped to reflect the current situation more accurately. Notes on data collection and the survey questionnaire are appended. (MSE)

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Federal Support for Training Foreign Language and Area Specialists

The Education and Careers of FLAS Fellowship Recipients

Lorraine M. McDonnell
With Cathleen Stasz and Rodger Madison

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Lorraine M. McDonnell
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September 1983

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SANTA MONICA, CA. 90406

PREFACE

This is the second and final report of a four-year investigation of international studies training that is partially supported by the federal government through Title VI of the Higher Education Act. The work was sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education under Contract No. 300-79-0777. It focuses both on the institutions that train language and area specialists and on the specialists themselves. This report examines the training and careers of individuals who received support through the Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowship program. It profiles their training, employment history, and on-the-job usage of language and area skills, and also assesses the extent to which such usage varies across occupational categories, world areas, degree cohorts, and academic disciplines.

The report should be useful to federal policymakers, institutions that train language and area studies specialists, and organizations that employ such specialists in considering ways to respond to major shifts in demand for their skills.

SUMMARY

Specialists who have expert knowledge about other countries are not only essential for the conduct of U.S. foreign policy, but are also a critical resource in an increasingly interdependent global economy. One of the largest and most important components of U.S. government support for training such specialists has been the Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowship program which, since its inception in 1958, has supported the graduate training of over 20,000 students.

From its beginning, the FLAS program was designed to produce specialists with expert knowledge of other languages and cultures, particularly non-Western ones. This objective was made especially clear by its inclusion, along with science and mathematics, under the National Defense Education Act (NDEA), which Congress enacted in 1958 largely as a response to the launching of Sputnik. Its purpose was to "insure trained manpower of sufficient quality and quantity to meet the national defense needs of the United States." Although the original NDEA legislation and subsequent additions to it authorized a range of international studies programs, the support of specialist training through FLAS fellowships has remained a major priority. Policymakers have assumed that the award of an FLAS fellowship, along with the requirement to take language courses during the fellowship period, will motivate students to achieve the high degree of competence required of advanced foreign language and area specialists.

This assumption has not been recently tested, however. Despite more than twenty years of program funding, there is no recent information about FLAS fellowship recipients: We do not know how well they have been trained or the extent to which they are now using that training in their careers.[1] This study provides such data. It is based on two surveys; the first consists of FLAS recipients who earned a Ph.D. between 1967 and 1979, and the second, a sample of those who received FLAS fellowships between 1962 and 1978, and who either chose not to earn a Ph.D. or have not yet completed their doctoral studies. Its purpose is three-fold:

[1]The last systematic data were collected as part of Richard Lambert's comprehensive 1969 survey of foreign language and area specialists. See his *Language and Area Studies Review*, Monograph 17 of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Philadelphia, October 1973.

- To present a profile of those who have received FLAS fellowships: their background characteristics, type and depth of graduate training, employment history, and the extent to which they currently use their language and area studies training.
- To explain differences in the extent of language and area studies usage across occupational categories, world areas, degree cohorts, and academic disciplines.
- To identify the policy implications of study findings.

THE PREPARATION AND TRAINING OF FLAS RECIPIENTS

The FLAS fellowship program has functioned well as a meritocratic system that has brought good students from a very wide variety of undergraduate institutions to the best universities in the country for language and area studies training. Most FLAS recipients between 1962 and 1979 majored in history or the humanities, with a smaller number in the social sciences and even fewer in professional disciplines. The humanities orientation of the FLAS program is most evident among Soviet specialists, half of whom majored in language and literature.

The portrait that emerges of the typical FLAS recipient is that of a serious student who entered graduate school with some prior exposure to international studies and who, while in graduate school, spent considerable time in language training and related disciplinary study. On average, FLAS recipients obtained more language training than the average undergraduate and the vast majority had some first-hand experience in another country or region of the world. However, only about half had either coursework or first-hand experience in the region in which they later specialized; but most of them entered graduate school armed with the skills required for foreign language study and motivated to immerse themselves in the study of another culture.

Although all FLAS recipients spent considerable time in graduate school (five to seven years on average), the amount of time needed to complete various milestones in the training process is one major factor that distinguishes between those who did and did not earn doctorates. Non-Ph.D.s spent significantly more time reaching each milestone—perhaps one of the factors that influenced their decision to leave graduate school.

In most other respects, however, training was much the same for these two groups. The distribution of graduate coursework for both

groups was also quite consistent across cohorts, with students in the late 1970s receiving basically the same education as those in the mid-1960s. Since the proportion of graduate training that a student can devote to language and area studies depends largely on a student's academic major and its amenability to international studies, historians, humanists, and area studies majors were able to spend more time in such courses than those in economics, sociology, and various professional fields. Only a quarter of all FLAS recipients took any type of applied courses (e.g., in statistics or policy analysis) or courses offered by professional schools. Despite the FLAS program's emphasis on interdisciplinary study, only about half of all FLAS recipients took courses outside their academic majors, and even these people spent relatively little time in such courses. Consequently, most FLAS recipients have little applied training and only a cursory introduction to how disciplines other than their own approach the study of foreign cultures.

Language study is another factor that distinguishes non-Ph.D. from Ph.D. FLAS recipients. The non-Ph.D.s studied fewer languages for a shorter period; nevertheless, both groups invested considerable time in language study (an average 5.75 years for non-Ph.D.s and 6.63 years for Ph.D.s) and received more extensive training than did specialists in earlier periods. Self-ratings of linguistic competence indicate that FLAS recipients also possess greater language skill than an earlier generation of specialists.

However, these overall improvements mask continuing differences in training opportunities and competence levels. For example, only about half of all FLAS recipients were able to obtain some language training in a country where the language they were studying is spoken. Students of East Asia were twice as likely to have such an opportunity as those specializing in Southeast Asia. In addition, the formal training period for FLAS Ph.D.s specializing in Western Europe, East Asia, the Middle East, the Soviet Union/Eastern Europe, and Latin America was significantly longer (range: 9.34 to 6.87 years) than it was for those specializing in South Asia, Africa, or Southeast Asia (5.33-4.14 years). Similar differences in language training prevail across academic disciplines, with FLAS Ph.D.s in language and literature averaging more formal language training (10.21 years) than respondents in all other disciplines. Sociologists, economists, geographers, and anthropologists spent the least amount of time in language study, averaging less than 4 years of formal training. Consistent with the shorter duration of their language study, non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients indicate lower levels of linguistic competence at the end of training than Ph.D.s, and unlike the Ph.D.s who report increased competence over time, the non-Ph.D.s report significant skill

attrition between the end of training and the present. Even Ph.D.s, however, indicate difficulty in performing some tasks that might reasonably be expected of language and area specialists (e.g., teaching a course in their most proficient foreign language). In addition, a significant gap between reading and speaking skills persists, despite an overall improvement in linguistic competence over the past fifteen years.

On balance, the FLAS program has played an important role in a training process that has attracted a broad base of competent and highly motivated students. These students spent considerable time in language and area studies training and now rate the education they received very highly. To the extent that comparisons are possible, FLAS recipients are receiving more training than older specialists did, and are more competent; but they are seriously concerned about the lack of opportunity for language study abroad, and the seeming unresponsiveness of the graduate training process to a changing job market for their skills. In fact, throughout this profile of former FLAS recipients, one finding has emerged repeatedly: The training of language and area studies specialists has remained relatively static, while major changes have occurred in employment and skill utilization patterns.

EMPLOYMENT AND SKILL UTILIZATION PATTERNS

The vast majority (over 75 percent) of FLAS Ph.D.s are currently teaching in colleges and universities, but the proportion has steadily decreased over cohorts. More than twice as many Ph.D.s in the 1977-79 cohort hold nonacademic jobs as do those who earned their doctorates in the 1967-70 cohort (28.6 percent versus 13.7 percent). FLAS Ph.D.s with academic jobs are currently teaching in over 450 colleges and universities, and most of them work in institutions that are nonselective in their undergraduate admissions policies. In this very important way, then, the specialist expertise produced with FLAS assistance is now being disseminated broadly to undergraduates in all types of institutions. In addition, the majority of academics, regardless of the type of institution in which they teach, report using their language and area studies expertise all or most of the time.

Employment and skill utilization patterns for Ph.D.s working outside academia, and for most non-Ph.D.s, are much different. Most report that they never or only rarely use their language and area studies expertise in their current jobs, and over 60 percent of non-

Ph.D. FLAS recipients who are employed full-time are currently working outside their field of graduate study. Nevertheless, about a quarter of those working in nonacademic jobs have been able to find positions that make extensive use of their specialist training; either their jobs require language skills or language and area studies expertise was heavily weighted in the hiring decision. Such jobs include ones in the diplomatic corps, international banking, agricultural development abroad, foreign broadcasting, political risk analysis, and the like. Still, these frequent users remain a minority among former FLAS recipients working outside academia. Because of the condition of the academic labor market, we have every reason to expect that this problem of skill underutilization will continue and even increase over time. Unless that pattern changes markedly, the majority of future FLAS recipients may be unable to use their skills, thus jeopardizing a critical national resource.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Although the primary purpose of this study was to present an in-depth profile of FLAS recipients, findings about their training and employment raise a number of policy issues for the federal government, the institutions that train these specialists, and the organizations that employ them. Clearly, none of these institutions can resolve the problems of skill underutilization alone; in fact, a full resolution of this dilemma probably depends on major changes in the American economy and the way in which the United States deals with the rest of the world. Still, our findings suggest that certain modifications in the training and placement process could mitigate the problem.

Our data raise several issues about the distribution of FLAS fellowships. A particularly important one relates to the disciplinary majors of recipients specializing in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Recently, U.S. government officials have expressed serious concern about the lack of analysts qualified to examine social and political trends in the Soviet Union. Our data suggest that this lack may be due at least partially to the concentration of FLAS fellowships in language and literature. Soviet specialists are being produced, then, but not in the fields for which the U.S. government has a critical need. Consequently, we have a situation in which there is both above-average unemployment among FLAS Ph.D.s and at least modest demand for Soviet specialists with a different disciplinary focus. At the same time, U.S. policymakers have expressed concern about a recent decline in the number of Russian language speakers. Therefore, lan-

guage and literature needs to be maintained as one disciplinary focus for Soviet specialists, but some FLAS fellowships should be reallocated into the social sciences.

Our profile of FLAS recipients suggests several aspects of the training process where changes might be made. In both surveys, respondents said that they had taken too few applied courses and too few area studies courses outside their own discipline. They argued that courses in statistics, computer science, and policy analysis, and courses offered by various professional schools, were not only likely to make them more competitive on the job market, but also would equip them with additional research tools that could improve their understanding of a particular world area, whether they were working inside or outside academia. The need for interdisciplinary study is becoming even more important as area specialists find themselves either working in colleges and universities or in nonacademic institutions that have no other employees with a similar world area speciality. In these cases, the area specialist needs to function as a generalist with a broad-based knowledge of his or her world area. Respondents' assessments of their training confirm the appropriateness of the FLAS program's emphasis on interdisciplinary approaches to area studies and its increased interest in the link between area studies and applied disciplines. Changing what has basically been a static curriculum to include such emphases makes sense not only in light of the current job market, but also as a way to expand the theoretical and analytical perspectives that inform the study of other cultures.

The international studies community universally agrees on the need for language study in a country where the language is spoken, and our data clearly confirm that judgment. We found that only about half of all FLAS recipients receive such training, and that students specializing in Africa, South, and Southeast Asia are much less likely to obtain this type of training as those in other world areas. Therefore, we can only reiterate what others have argued: If the U.S. government is concerned about the number and quality of people who are linguistically competent in non-Western languages, it will need to support more language study abroad and help equalize such opportunities across world areas.

The finding that a large proportion of FLAS Ph.D.s are teaching in smaller institutions with only a few other faculty members specializing in their region of the world suggests yet another important role for the large universities that train FLAS Ph.D.s. By offering seminars, workshops, and library privileges to faculty teaching in smaller, nearby colleges, these larger institutions can help in maintaining their language and area skills and in preventing intellectual isolation. We also know from our analysis that having an organized pro-

gram in language and area studies, even at smaller institutions, is a significant factor in the ability of academics to use and maintain their skills. This suggests that institutional support for programs at smaller institutions is also necessary if the goal of disseminating language and area studies knowledge broadly is to be met.

The final change that this study implies for training institutions may be the most difficult to make. Universities have well-established networks for helping graduates find academic jobs, but do little for those who want or must accept nonacademic jobs. Respondents noted both the reluctance and inability of their professors and academic departments in that respect.

Since our data indicate that more and more FLAS recipients will need to look to the nonacademic labor market over the next few years, it seems that training institutions have little choice but to strengthen their nonacademic placement networks. Universities now need as much information about nonacademic jobs as about academic jobs that use language and area studies skills. There are several ways to obtain this information. One is to keep track of graduates who are now working in these types of jobs. Although they can be a useful source of information about other positions in the same field and about the training needs for these jobs, we found that universities know the least about their graduates working outside academia.

A second way to build an effective placement network is to develop systematic, ongoing links with government, nonprofit, and private sector organizations that use language and area studies skills. This can be done as part of area center outreach programs or as part of the graduate training process. For example, a number of respondents suggested that internships in such organizations be included as part of the training process, and some universities have already begun to incorporate these into their international studies programs. Although such internships may not lead directly to permanent jobs, they at least give students practical experience and a realistic sense of the range of available options. Internships can also provide universities with information about training needs as they work to update their curricula, and such a program will alert potential employers to a pool of available expertise.

Clearly, graduate institutions and those responsible for FLAS policy need to modify their approach to graduate training and placement, but their efforts will make little difference unless American employers, particularly those in the private sector, alter the way they do business. Because of attitudinal and organizational factors, many American businesses have chosen either to stay out of international markets or to staff their overseas operations with foreign nationals. Convincing U.S. firms that expanding into international markets can

be profitable and that using American language and area specialists has advantages over relying on foreign nationals is not something that universities can or necessarily should be expected to do on their own. U.S. firms, particularly smaller ones, need to be provided with in-depth information on how other firms take advantage of area specialists' expertise. Large U.S. banks, for example, are now earning a large proportion of their profits from overseas operations. Language and area studies expertise is no substitute for technological and price competitiveness, of course, but it can be a critical tool in such activities as marketing and risk assessment. However, many American firms remain to be convinced of that fact.

Our profile of former FLAS recipients suggests that language and area studies is now moving through a transitional period. There is no question that universities have provided high-quality training to a group of talented and motivated students. The task now is to reshape that training in the face of new realities, so that an important national resource will not be wasted.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Since this study involved the collection and analysis of survey data from over 2400 respondents, some of whom were difficult to locate, it required the cooperation and assistance of many people.

Douglas Scott, formerly of Rand, organized the procedures for sampling FLAS recipients from U.S. Department of Education (ED) files and the subsequent checking of university records for student files not available at ED. He was assisted in this effort by Pauline Ellis and Angela Pitts at Rand, and by Merion Kane at ED. Peter Syverson of the National Research Council organized and supervised the matching of fellowship recipient names with those in the Doctorate Survey Project's commencement bulletin file. Others who helped in identifying FLAS Ph.D.s include Rota Ince, University of California at Berkeley; Karlene Dickey, Stanford University; Warren Eason, Ohio State University; and Frank Shulman of the University of Maryland.

Diane Schoeff coordinated the Rand Survey Center's telephone tracking of respondents. Her job would have been next to impossible had it not been for the gracious cooperation of area studies directors and numerous university personnel in academic departments, financial aid offices, and graduate studies offices at the institutions included in our sample.

Survey questionnaire mailings and data processing tasks were handled by Doris Alexander and her staff in the Rand Survey Data Preparation Group. Tom Blaschke and Rodger Madison were the computer programmers for the project, and Naihua Duan provided statistical advice on a number of sampling issues. Cathleen Stasz was responsible for analyzing the data on Ph.D. language training and competence. Throughout the project, M. Stephen Weatherford of the University of California at Santa Barbara advised us on various analytical and statistical questions. Sarah Jane Moore of the University of Pennsylvania provided data runs from the earlier study of foreign area and language specialists conducted by Richard Lambert.

Richard Shavelson and Linda Darling-Hammond of Rand, Rose Hayden of the National Council on Foreign Language and International Studies, Richard Lambert of the University of Pennsylvania, Robert Ward of Stanford University, and Robert Berls at the Department of Education reviewed the draft report; their comments were a considerable help in revising it. Will Harriss's editing helped clarify

our prose. Naomi Moebius and Gabrielle Wharton provided invaluable support in typing and producing this report.

Finally, we want to thank all the former FLAS recipients who took time not only to complete our questionnaire, but also to write extensive comments about their education and to share their ideas for improving advanced foreign language and area studies training. These respondents provided both a data base and a motivating force for the project.

Although the study could not have been completed without such diverse and willing assistance, we alone are responsible for this report's shortcomings.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The availability of expert knowledge about other countries is not only essential for the conduct of U.S. foreign policy, but is also a critical resource in today's global economy. One of the largest and most important components of federal support for graduate international studies has been the Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowship program.[1] Since its inception in 1958, it has supported the training of over 20,000 students.[2]

From its beginning, the FLAS program was designed to produce specialists with expert knowledge of other languages and cultures, particularly non-Western ones. This objective was made especially clear by its inclusion under the National Defense Education Act (NDEA). Largely as a response to the Russian launching of Sputnik, Congress enacted NDEA in 1958. Its purpose was to "insure trained manpower of sufficient quality and quantity to meet the national defense needs of the United States." Along with science and mathematics, modern foreign languages were among the areas in which training was to be supported.[3] Besides providing graduate fellowships, the NDEA legislation supported university language and area studies centers to provide a focal point for training and research about other cultures, and establish a research program to develop more effective pedagogical methods and curriculum materials for foreign language teaching. Subsequent additions to the legislation expanded its purpose to include funding for disseminating international knowledge to other levels of the educational system and to the general public.

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[1]During its early years, FLAS was referred to as the National Defense Language Fellowship (NDFL) program.

[2]FLAS fellowships are awarded competitively to academic institutions with foreign area studies programs and these institutions, in turn, award the fellowships to individual students. FLAS fellowships cover a student's tuition costs and currently provide a yearly stipend of $4000. Now included under Title VI of the Higher Education Act (HEA), the FLAS program provided 700 academic year and 205 summer fellowships during FY1981.

[3]Until FLAS was included under the HEA in 1980, program regulations required that fellowship recipients plan either to teach or enter public service. Since 1980, no such restriction has been imposed, and students planning to work in the private sector are now eligible for FLAS fellowships. Of course, even when the restriction was in force, former fellowship recipients were in no way prevented from changing their initial plans and deciding to work in the private sector.

Despite this expansion of program goals, however, the support of specialist training through FLAS fellowships has remained a major priority. Policymakers have assumed that the award of a FLAS fellowship, along with the requirement to take language courses during the fellowship period, will motivate students to achieve the high degree of competence required of advanced foreign language and area specialists.

That assumption has not been recently tested. Despite over twenty years of program funding, no recent information exists about the training and subsequent careers of FLAS fellowship recipients: We do not know how well they have been trained or the extent to which they are now using their training.[4] This study provides such data. It is based on two surveys: The first consists of FLAS recipients who earned a Ph.D. between 1967 and 1979, and the second, a sample of those who received FLAS fellowships between 1962 and 1978, and who either chose not to earn a Ph.D. or who have not yet completed their doctoral studies.[5] Its purpose is three-fold:

- To profile recipients of FLAS fellowships: their background characteristics, type and depth of graduate training, employment history, and the extent to which they currently use their training;
- To explain differences in the extent of language and area studies usage across occupational categories, world areas, degree cohorts, and academic disciplines; and
- To identify the policy implications of study findings.

As this report will reveal, the FLAS fellowship program has functioned well as a meritocratic system for bringing good students from a broad range of undergraduate institutions to the best universities in the country for graduate language and area studies training. Once in

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[4]The last systematic data were collected as part of Richard Lambert's comprehensive 1969 survey of foreign language and area specialists. See his *Language and Area Studies Review*, Monograph 17 of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Philadelphia, October 1973.

[5]Where appropriate, we make comparisons between our samples and Lambert's earlier one, and between FLAS Ph.D.s and respondents in the much larger Survey of Doctorate Recipients (SDR) conducted by the National Research Council.

The National Research Council (NRC) maintains a Doctorate Records File (DRF) that contains basic information on virtually all individuals who have received Ph.D.s from U.S. universities since 1920. In addition, the NRC conducts a biennial, longitudinal survey, based on a stratified sample of all Ph.D.s who received their degree in science, engineering, and the humanities. In 1981, this sample included 39,547 respondents who had earned their degrees between 1936 and 1978; of these, approximately 8100 earned a Ph.D. in the humanities. See Betty D. Maxfield, *Science, Engineering, and Humanities Doctorates in the United States, 1981 Profile*, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., 1982.

graduate school, these students spent considerable time there and now rate their education very positively. Although their level of linguistic competence is not as high as might be desired, and although language training opportunities vary widely across world areas and disciplines, FLAS recipients received more and better language training than older generations of specialists. Nevertheless, a significant number of FLAS recipients are not using their expertise in their current jobs—a problem that is likely to become more serious as the academic market continues to contract and graduates have to look for employment in government or the private sector. Throughout this report, then, we will see a discrepancy between the training of FLAS recipients (which has remained relatively static) and the subsequent uses of their skills (which have undergone major changes).

THE FLAS PROGRAM[6]

Although the original purpose of the FLAS program was to encourage students to study uncommonly taught languages and their related world areas, the U.S. Department of Education (ED) has attempted to influence both the number and the distribution of specialists by world area and academic discipline. Using Lambert's 1969 survey of language and area specialists, ED established priority disciplines for each world area. These disciplines were selected not so much because labor market demand actually existed for them, but rather because Lambert found that these disciplines were less well represented among specialists in a given world area.[7] Consequently, university area studies programs applying for FLAS fellowship quotas are considered more competitive if they offer courses in these priority disciplines.[8]

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[6]The following section is based on findings from an earlier phase of this project. At that time, we evaluated the Title VI program and most of its various components by focusing on the program's original goals and how they have been modified over time; program management at the federal level; and actual implementation in individual colleges and universities. In evaluating FLAS operations, we used record and interview data collected from those respondents at 18 postsecondary institutions that receive approximately 25 percent of the FLAS fellowships awarded nationwide. For an expanded assessment of the FLAS programs, see L. M. McDonnell, S. E. Berryman, M. D. Scott, J. Pincus, and A. Robyn, *Federal Support for International Studies: The Role of NDEA Title VI*, The Rand Corporation, R-2270-ED, May 1981.

[7]Lambert. For example, see the discussion on pp. 326-331.

[8]The priority disciplines by world area are: *Africa:* economics, history, humanities (consisting, throughout this footnote, of art, drama, music, philosophy, and religion), sociology and languages other than Swahili; *East Asia:* anthropology, economics, geography, sociology, and humanities; *Eastern Europe:* anthropology, geography, humanities, sociology, and languages other than Russian; *Latin America:* humanities,

In choosing FLAS recipients, institutions are expected to use these same priority disciplines as one of the selection criteria. So, for example, in African studies a student who is studying Twi and majoring in sociology should be more likely to receive an FLAS fellowship than a student of equal academic quality studying Swahili and majoring in political science. In theory, then, FLAS was designed as an incentive system to influence the number and distribution of specialists by academic discipline and world area.

However, things have not worked out that way in actual practice. For several reasons, universities and area studies centers largely ignore the priority disciplines in awarding FLAS fellowships. Since they are based on data that are over ten years old, the priority disciplines are unlikely to reflect current disciplinary and linguistic gaps within a world area. But even if they are updated, universities are still reluctant to make these priority disciplines a major factor in fellowship decisions. Area center directors and other faculty responsible for awarding FLAS fellowships argue that the priority disciplines do not take into consideration the strengths of individual centers. For example, the strongest disciplines at a particular Latin American center may be anthropology and political science, neither of which are priority disciplines for Latin America. Yet because these subjects constitute the center's (or university's) greatest strengths, the best students will be in these areas. Adhering to ED's priority disciplines would mean awarding FLAS fellowships to weaker students at the expense of stronger ones.

Some center directors also argue that even independent of a center's particular strengths, the priority disciplines and student quality often work in opposite directions. Because the humanities have traditionally been the most amenable to area studies, the best history and literature students are also often the best area specialists. On the other hand, some priority disciplines, such as economics, have been antagonistic toward area studies. Consequently, the best students in those disciplines do not choose area specialties. In selecting FLAS recipients, then, an emphasis on student quality may result in more humanities students being chosen, while an emphasis on the priority

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sociology, Portuguese, and Amer-Indian languages; *Middle East:* anthropology, economics, geography, humanities, political science, sociology, and languages other than Hebrew; *South Asia:* anthropology, humanities, linguistics, literature, sociology, and geography; *Southeast Asia:* economics, history, humanities, linguistics, literature, and sociology; *Western Europe:* anthropology, economics, geography, philosophy and religion, political economy, sociology, and languages other than French, German, Italian, and Spanish.

disciplines could mean that students of lesser overall ability, but majoring in the hard social sciences, would be selected.[9]

ED has also encouraged universities to award some of the FLAS fellowships to professional students as part of the Department's interest in establishing stronger ties between area studies programs and professional schools. However, this strategy has produced limited results for much the same reasons that few students in economics are awarded FLAS fellowships. Professional students are usually required to follow a very specific and demanding curriculum, and therefore have less time for the language courses required of FLAS recipients. Also, most of them are employable without FLAS skills. As the FLAS program is currently structured, then, it holds little attraction for such students.

These weaknesses aside, the FLAS program has strongly affected the amount of language training that fellowship recipients undergo, and has provided an additional incentive for many good students in a variety of disciplines to engage in advanced language and area studies. University area studies centers report that the FLAS program has allowed them to influence the composition of some academic departments, particularly those that typically enroll a large number of area specialists. The FLAS fellowship has also meant that recipients, especially those in social science disciplines that consider language study less important than the humanities do, have both the positive incentive of fellowship support and the requirement for language study to ensure that they obtain training that they might not otherwise receive. In sum, the FLAS program has met its original purpose of increasing the national pool of language and area studies specialists. It has also ensured that these specialists are better trained than they might otherwise be. On the other hand, FLAS has not significantly affected the disciplinary distribution of specialists within each world area, nor has it had a measurable effect on linking the selection of fellowship recipients to the realities of the current labor market.

STUDY METHODS

This study was originally designed to focus only on those FLAS recipients who subsequently earned Ph.D.s. We assumed that since most FLAS fellowships are awarded to doctoral students, the majority

[9]Although history is a priority discipline for only two world areas (Africa and Southeast Asia), some of the humanities (art, drama, music, philosophy, and religion) are among the priority disciplines for seven of the eight world areas. Consequently, universities can select humanists in some disciplines as FLAS recipients and be considered responsive to ED's guidelines.

of former fellowship recipients would have Ph.D.s. Therefore, we believed that focusing on this group would generate sufficient information about language and area specialists, and would constitute the most cost-effective use of study resources.

Once we began our survey of FLAS Ph.D.s, however, we found that a sole focus on them would not produce a comprehensive picture of all FLAS recipients. Less than half of the group (44 percent) earned Ph.D.s, and most who did (over 75 percent) are now employed in academic institutions. Thus, a study limited to FLAS Ph.D.s would describe only a minority of FLAS recipients and would generate limited data on language and area specialists employed in business and government. Consequently, we felt it important to revise our initial study design to include a survey of non-Ph.D.s.

The non-Ph.D. survey was conducted after the data on Ph.D.s had been collected and analyzed. Its focus and questions essentially parallel those on the Ph.D. questionnaire. However, time and resource constraints limited the size of the completed non-Ph.D. sample to about one-quarter that of the Ph.D. group.[10]

Ph.D. Sample

The Ph.D. sample consists of 1711 FLAS recipients, and represents 60 percent of all those who received an FLAS fellowship between 1962 and 1979, and who then earned a Ph.D. in the period between 1967 and 1979.[11] Because of our inability to locate all FLAS Ph.D.s, and a nonresponse rate on the mail survey of approximately 28 percent, we ended up with less than the entire universe of FLAS Ph.D.s. Therefore, we needed to make certain that our respondent sample was representative of the population as a whole. We ran significance tests comparing respondent characteristics with those of non-respondents

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[10]Because the data on non-Ph.D.s were collected after the Ph.D. analysis was already completed, the results of this survey are presented separately. However, Chap. 5, which reports the major findings from the non-Ph.D. survey, includes extensive comparisons of the two groups.

[11]We included FLAS recipients from as early as 1962 in our sampling frame in order to pick up those who received a fellowship some years before they earned a Ph.D. Given that the period of Ph.D. training is long for language and area specialists, selecting 1962 as a cut-off point may have resulted in a slight undercount of Ph.D.s for 1967, the first year of the study. However, we decided that allowing for a five-year lead time was reasonable and that it would not have been cost-efficient to go back farther.

For the 9534 students who received FLAS fellowships between 1967 and 1979, we were only able to identify 2836 or 29.7 percent who had earned a Ph.D. between 1967 and 1979. When our error rate in identifying Ph.D.s (approximately a 5 percent underestimate) is factored in and we include those who earned Ph.D.s prior to 1967 or after 1979, the Ph.D. completion rate rises to 44 percent.

and found that there are no significant differences (at $p < 0.05$) between the two groups on world area, Ph.D. year, and sex. Since world area and Ph.D. year are the major variables of interest in this study, we are confident that our sample is representative and that inferences can be made from it to the entire FLAS Ph.D. population.

Although resource constraints and the study design proposed by ED prevented us from comparing FLAS recipients with other language and area studies specialists, we intended to make at least minimal comparisons by sampling a small group of Ph.D.s who had been nominated as alternates, but who had never received an FLAS fellowship.[12] Consequently, we drew a random sample of FLAS alternates, equal to about one-third of the universe of those nominated as alternates between 1962 and 1979. We identified 455 Ph.D.s in this group and, taking into account tracking failures and survey nonresponse, we ended up with a sample of 238 FLAS alternates who had earned Ph.D.s between 1967 and 1979.

The major reason the sample of FLAS alternates is so small is that the Ph.D. completion rate for this group is less than 15 percent, a considerably lower rate than that of recipients. This differential suggests that the FLAS fellowship is significant in increasing the likelihood of earning a Ph.D., but we have no data to verify such a conclusion. It may simply be that more alternates than recipients lack either the motivation or the competence to complete their degrees. If so, we could conclude that university selection procedures that distinguish between recipients and alternates are effective in selecting a group more likely to complete graduate school than those ranked in the second tier as alternates. Without additional data, however, such a conclusion cannot be substantiated.

On the other hand, we found *no* significant differences between those alternates who obtained Ph.D.s and recipients who did so. We ran significance tests on the two groups and compared recipient respondents with alternate respondents on Ph.D. year, world area, sex, and a variety of survey responses that tap background characteristics, graduate training, language competence, current employment, and job satisfaction. We found that alternates who earned Ph.D.s were not significantly different in any important way from Ph.D.s who had the benefit of an FLAS fellowship. Given this finding, there was no reason or even a basis for comparing the two groups. Consequently,

[12]Selecting alternates was judged to be the most cost-effective way to obtain a comparison group because their names were already on file at ED. Another option would have been to contact individual universities to obtain lists of their graduates. Since language and area studies specialists take their degrees in a number of different disciplinary departments and the quality of student records varies from institution to institution, this procedure was found to be too costly and time-consuming.

we decided to combine them, and subsequent references to FLAS Ph.D.s refer to that combination. We also felt that this strategy was preferable to separate analyses because the size of the alternate sample is so small as to make detailed analyses within this group limited in their statistical reliability.

Appendix A discusses the procedures used in identifying and tracking FLAS Ph.D.s. The majority of them were identified through a cross-check of NRC's commencement bulletin file with a number of other sources used to validate and supplement this original pool.[13] A series of validation procedures indicated that our error rate in identifying Ph.D.s is 5 percent. Allowing for this margin, then, we are confident that we have identified 95 percent of those who received an FLAS fellowship and subsequently earned Ph.D.s.

We obtained current addresses for 91 percent (N = 2994) of the FLAS Ph.D. population from professional association directories, university records, and, for about thirty percent of the group, from telephone calls to former teachers, colleagues, employers, and the respondents themselves.

A questionnaire was mailed to these people beginning in November 1981. (A copy appears in App. B.) Data collection, including telephone reminders, continued through March 1982. Of the 2,994 people who were mailed questionnaires, 1,949 or 65 percent completed and returned them; 280 questionnaires (9.4 percent) were returned as undeliverable and subsequent efforts to locate these respondents failed. Thus the response rate for those who were actually contacted is 72 percent. Table 1.1 shows the distribution of FLAS recipients and alternates by world area.

Non-Ph.D. Sample

In formulating the sample design for the non-Ph.D. survey, we took two constraints into consideration. First, it is more difficult to obtain current addresses for non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients than for Ph.D.s. Universities generally have less up-to-date information about students who leave school after earning a terminal M.A. or before earning a Ph.D. Other sources, such as faculty directories that were used in tracking Ph.D.s, are less relevant for non-Ph.D.s, who tend to be employed in a wider range of occupations. Consequently, we could rea-

[13]Our original plan was to computer-match our FLAS file with NRC's Doctorate Records File. However, NRC's confidentiality assurances to its respondents prevented us from using this method. NRC maintains a file of commencement bulletins from all institutions that grant doctorates, so these were used as a substitute. NRC staff hand-checked our file of names against these bulletins.

Table 1.1

Overview of the FLAS Population

A. FLAS Recipients

World Area	Fellowship Recipients[a] N	%	Ph.D.s[b] (1967-1979) N	%	Ph.D. Survey Respondents[c] N	%
Africa	891	9.3	257	9.3	172	10.1
East Asia	2284	24.0	686	24.2	419	24.5
Latin America	1509	15.8	543	19.2	303	17.7
Middle East	1468	15.4	384	13.5	205	12.0
South Asia	924	9.7	262	9.3	160	9.4
Southeast Asia	486	5.1	134	4.7	89	5.2
USSR/E. Europe	1806	18.9	534	18.9	331	19.3
Western Europe	166	1.7	36	1.3	32	1.9
	9534		2836		1711	

B. FLAS Alternates

World Area	Designated Alternates[d] N	%	Ph.D.s (1967-1979) N	%	Ph.D. Survey Respondents[e] N	%
Africa	237	6.3	22	4.8	10	4.2
East Asia	931	24.7	99	21.8	45	18.9
Latin America	846	22.5	134	29.5	69	29.0
Middle East	497	13.2	42	9.2	17	7.1
South Asia	234	6.2	27	5.9	13	5.5
Southeast Asia	103	2.7	19	4.2	12	5.0
USSR/E. Europe	860	22.8	107	23.5	61	25.6
Western Europe	59	1.6	5	1.1	11	4.6
	3767		455		238	

See following page for footnotes.

Table 1.1—Continued

[a]Includes all students who received a FLAS/NDFL graduate fellowship between 1962 and 1979.

[b]Latin America is represented in the Ph.D. population in greater proportion than in the fellowship population because the Ph.D. completion rate for this world area is significantly higher than for the others, 54.5 percent as compared with a mean of 44 percent.

[c]Fourteen respondents designated their world area as Uralic-Altaic studies. However, since it would have been impossible to analyze such a small group separately, they were recoded into other world areas according to respondent information about the countries each studied. Those studying Finland were included in Western Europe, Mongolia and Tibet in East Asia, and the Uralic peoples of the USSR, Latvia, and Estonia into USSR/Eastern Europe.

[d]Based on a random sample of approximately one-third of those who were nominated by their universities as alternates and who never received a FLAS/NDFL fellowship.

[e]The increase in the number of Western European specialists between the Ph.D. and respondent groups is a result of some Latin American alternates changing their country specialization to Spain. The other Western European specialists in both the alternate and recipient samples concentrate on the Scandinavian countries of Finland, Norway, and Sweden. The particular focus of this group is an artifact of ED policy, which encourages that FLAS fellowships in Western Europe be given to those studying languages other than French, German, Italian, and Spanish.

sonably expect to obtain current addresses for only about half of those for whom we searched. Also, it would take longer to track each non-Ph.D. respondent than to track a Ph.D. Second, tracking costs and limited study resources meant that the non-Ph.D. sample necessarily had to be smaller than the Ph.D. survey. However, we had to make certain that our final sample was large enough to provide statistically reliable comparisons across world areas and cohorts. It was decided that a completed sample of 500 was the minimal size adequate for analytical purposes, given the major variables by which the sample would be disaggregated (four fellowship cohorts, eight world areas with perhaps two of the smallest excluded, and degree status—B.A. only, terminal M.A., planning to earn a Ph.D.).

Assuming a 50 percent success rate in obtaining current addresses and a 60 percent response rate, we needed to begin with 1800 cases in order to obtain 500 completed questionnaires. Because we found some interesting differences between Ph.D.s from the fourteen universities

that receive the majority of FLAS fellowships and those from the more than eighty institutions that receive considerably fewer FLAS fellowships, we decided to oversample from the group of smaller institutions to make certain that they were adequately represented in the non-Ph.D. sample as well. Consequently, we first stratified by this institutional variable; within each of these two groups, we then sampled on a probability proportionate to size basis for six world areas. Western Europe was deleted because the small number of FLAS recipients in this world area meant that statistical estimates would have unacceptably high standard errors; for the same reason, the relatively few recipients with a Southeast Asian focus were combined with those specializing in South Asia.

Our original sample consisted of 1891 recipients. Of these, 271 or 14.3 percent were found to have Ph.D.s, with most earning their degrees in the period since we identified Ph.D.s for the first survey. Largely through telephone contacts with recipients' graduate institutions, parents, friends, and employers, we were able to obtain current addresses for 897 recipients (55 percent of all non-Ph.D.s). Questionnaires were mailed to potential respondents during the first week of November 1981. Data collection, including telephone reminders, continued through January 1982. We received 537 completed questionnaires for a 60 percent response rate.[14]

To correct for differences in the proportion of people tracked within each fellowship cohort[15] and for the purposive oversampling of smaller schools, we reweighted the sample on these factors before beginning our analysis. All results from the non-Ph.D. analysis, then, are based on a sample that has been weighted to reflect the incidence in the entire population of recipients from each fellowship cohort and from large and small institutions.

In sum, this study is based on two surveys: one of 1949 FLAS recipients and alternates who received their Ph.D.s between 1967 and 1979,

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[14]We believe that the response rate for non-Ph.D.s was lower than that for the earlier Ph.D. survey for two reasons. First, project deadlines forced us to compress the data collection period for the non-Ph.D. survey into two months as compared with an over-four-month period for the Ph.D. survey. Consequently, fewer follow-up contacts were made with each respondent. Second, a number of those in the non-Ph.D. sample left area studies and graduate school before completing their degrees. Our telephone contacts with these people suggest that some failed to respond because language and area studies were no longer relevant to their own lives or because they were embarrassed at having accepted an FLAS fellowship, only to leave the field.

[15]Fellowship recipients were divided into four cohorts of appropriately equal size: those who received fellowships between 1962 and 1966, 1967 and 1970, 1971 and 1974, and 1975 and 1978. As expected, it was more difficult to locate recipients in the earliest fellowship cohort than those in the most recent one. Consequently, we obtained current addresses for only 30 percent of the oldest cohort as compared with 81 percent for the most recent one.

and the other of 537 FLAS recipients who attended graduate school but did not earn Ph.D.s. Unlike the earlier Lambert work, this study is not a comprehensive survey of all language and area specialists, or even of all those with Ph.D.s.[16] In addition, except for knowing that FLAS alternates with Ph.D.s do not differ from recipients, we have no other evidence about the extent to which recipient Ph.D.s are similar to other Ph.D.s who did not receive Title VI support. Basically, then, this is a study of two groups of language and area specialists and is meant to assess how their training relates to subsequent career patterns and language and area studies usage.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

Chapter 2 presents a profile of FLAS Ph.D.s, including their background characteristics, undergraduate and graduate training, employment and professional activities, language and area studies usage, and assessment of their own training. Since it lies at the core of international studies, Chap. 3 presents a detailed analysis of FLAS Ph.D.s' foreign language training and their self-reports of language competence at the conclusion of study as compared with their competence now. Chapter 4 develops multivariate models to help explain differences in the extent of language and area studies usage across

[16]We initially attempted to obtain data on the total number of language and area specialists receiving their Ph.D.s between 1967 and 1979 by using a computer search of dissertation abstracts with specific regions, countries, language, and population groups as keywords. However, printing out all the actual dissertation titles and then verifying them for inclusion in our count was beyond project resources. At the same time, having the computer generate only an aggregate total would have introduced too much error into our calculations (e.g., dissertations on Spanish literature would have been counted whether they dealt with Spain or countries in Latin America). Therefore, we abandoned this effort because it was expensive and peripheral to the study's main purpose.

However, we do have some information about FLAS recipient Ph.D.s as a proportion of all Ph.D.s in various subgroups. For example, using Warren Eason's *Dynamic Inventory of Soviet and East European Specialists* and the annual dissertation listings in the *Slavic Review*, we found that Ph.D.s who received an FLAS fellowship represent 15.3 percent of all the Soviet and East European specialists produced between 1967 and 1979. FLAS Ph.D.s constitute 28.8 percent of the 1973 international studies Ph.D.s and 26.3 percent of the 1976 group produced by sixteen major universities included in McCaughey's study (Robert A. McCaughey, *The Permanent Revolution: An Assessment of the Current State of International Studies in American Universities*, a report to the International Division of the Ford Foundation, Spring 1979). Using Frank Schulman's various Asian studies dissertation bibliographies (listed in App. A), we found that FLAS recipients wrote approximately 18.2 percent of the dissertations on China between 1957 and 1970; 11.3 percent of all dissertations on Japan from 1969 to 1979; and 9.6 percent of the South Asian dissertations between 1967 and 1971. Although these data are sketchy, they indicate that FLAS recipients constitute only a small fraction of all Ph.D.s with a foreign language or area studies specialization.

FLAS Ph.D.s. Chapter 5 describes the training and skills usage of those FLAS recipients who chose not to earn doctoral degrees. Some in this group left graduate school before obtaining an M.A., others have terminal M.A.s or professional degrees, while still others plan to earn Ph.D.s in the future. Together they provide a profile of the range of career options available to those with graduate language and area studies training, but without the level of specialization required for a Ph.D. Chapter 6 discusses the implications of our findings for federal policy and for the institutions that train language and area specialists.

Chapter 2

A PROFILE OF FLAS PH.D.s

The overwhelming majority of FLAS Ph.D.s are white males who currently work in academic institutions as either humanists or historians. Yet this rather general description masks significant variation across Ph.D. cohorts,[1] world areas, and academic disciplines. For example, although women constitute only 21.9 percent of the entire sample (Table 2.1), their proportion has steadily increased from 14.9 percent in the earliest cohort (1967-70) to 29.3 percent in the latest (1977-79).[2] The racial composition of the sample, however, has remained stable across cohorts.

One of the most striking changes has been the increase in nonacademic employment among FLAS Ph.D.s. More than twice as many of those who received their degrees between 1977 and 1979 have nonacademic jobs as those who earned their Ph.D.s between 1967 and 1970. As we will see in subsequent sections, this change has profound implications for the extent to which FLAS Ph.D.s are using their expertise.

Despite this major shift in employment and skill utilization over Ph.D. cohorts, we found few such differences in training characteristics. Even though employment patterns have changed considerably over the thirteen years included in this study, the training that FLAS Ph.D.s receive has changed very little in this period. Rather, training differences are explained more by world area and academic discipline than by Ph.D. cohort. In other words, language and literature majors are likely to be trained differently from social scientists and African specialists, who are, in turn, trained differently from East Asian specialists; but a 1979 Ph.D. is likely to have received basically the same training as his older colleague in a similar discipline and world area.

To profile FLAS Ph.D.s, this chapter examines their training, career patterns, and skill utilization in some detail. It also summarizes respondents' assessments of the type and quality of their training.

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[1]To increase the number of cases in each cell and thus facilitate our descriptive analysis, respondents receiving Ph.D.s in each of the thirteen years included in the study were combined into four multi-year cohorts of roughly equal size.

[2]The proportion of females in our sample (21.9 percent) is slightly smaller than that in the NRC's 1981 survey of all Ph.D.s in the humanities (27.2 percent). See Maxfield, p. 44. Other studies have also documented the increased proportion of female Ph.D.s that occurred between 1967 and 1979. For example, see Helen S. Astin and Mary Beth Snyder, "Affirmative Action 1972-1982: A Decade of Response," *Change*, Vol. 14, No. 5, July/August 1982, p. 28.

Table 2.1

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FLAS PH.D.S
(N = 1949)

Characteristic	%	Ph.D. Year	%
Sex			
Male	78.1	1967	4.6
Female	21.9	1968	5.5
		1969	6.3
Racial/ethnic group		1970	8.4
White/caucasian	93.1	1971	8.0
Minority group	5.7	1972	9.4
Black	0.9	1973	10.0
Hispanic	2.2	1974	8.5
Asian	2.3	1975	9.1
American Indian	0.3	1976	8.7
No report	1.3	1977	7.1
		1978	7.7
Age in 1982		1979	6.6
Under 35	7.9		
35-39	29.3		
40-44	36.8		
45-49	15.0		
50-54	6.8		
55 or over	3.3		
No report	0.8		
Median age (years)	40.9		

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF FLAS PH.D s

Table 2.2 shows the distribution of FLAS Ph.D.s by world area, academic discipline, and Ph.D. cohort. Roughly a quarter of the entire sample are historians, a quarter humanists, and a quarter social scientists with political science dominant. The remainder includes linguists, area studies majors, those with professional degrees, and a small group majoring in several diverse subjects. Particularly notable for their small incidence in the sample (<4 percent each) are economists, geographers, sociologists, and those with professional degrees.

The disciplinary distribution for several world areas differs substantially from the sample-wide distribution. For example, the lack of

Table 2.2

FLAS Ph.D.s by World Area, Academic Discipline, and Ph.D. Cohort

Discipline and Cohort	Total, All Fields (N=1912)	Africa (N=176)	East Asia (N=461)	Latin America (N=362)	Middle East (N=217)	South Asia (N=171)	South-east Asia (N=100)	USSR/ Eastern Europe (N=385)	Western Europe (N=40)
Academic discipline									
History	26.3	29.0	32.8	24.9	26.3	22.8	23.0	22.6	12.5
Language and literature	23.1	4.5	20.0	27.6	13.4	6.4	0.0	46.8	55.0
Linguistics	6.3	14.8	2.6	3.3	2.8	10.5	17.0	6.2	12.5
Other humanities[a]	2.8	2.8	4.7	1.1	4.6	5.3	0.0	0.5	2.5
Area studies	9.7	2.8	12.6	4.7	29.5	14.6	0.0	3.9	5.0
Anthropology	7.3	14.8	5.6	9.7	5.5	12.9	16.0	0.5	0.0
Economics	2.9	0.6	3.5	3.9	1.4	2.3	5.0	2.9	2.5
Geography	2.9	4.5	1.7	3.6	1.4	4.7	5.0	2.3	5.0
Sociology	3.7	4.0	3.0	5.0	1.8	2.3	9.0	1.0	0.0
Political science	12.2	13.6	11.5	11.3	12.9	14.0	18.0	11.4	2.5
Professional[b]	1.7	7.4	0.7	2.2	0.0	1.2	5.0	0.5	0.0
Other[c]	1.7	1.1	1.3	2.8	0.5	2.9	2.0	1.3	2.5
Ph.D. cohort									
1967-70	24.8	16.5	21.7	34.3	25.3	19.3	17	26.0	40.0
1971-73	27.4	23.9	27.1	26.5	22.1	31.6	34	29.9	27.5
1974-76	26.4	36.4	27.8	22.9	27.6	27.5	25	22.3	20.0
1977-79	21.4	23.3	23.4	16.3	24.9	21.6	24	21.8	12.5

[a] This category includes: music, speech, religion, and philosophy.

[b] This category includes: agricultural economics, home economics, law, social work, library science, and education.

[c] This category includes: botany, ecology, communications, general social sciences, and archaeology.

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a written literary tradition in Africa probably accounts for the small proportion of African language and literature majors. Both East Asia and, particularly, the Middle East have a larger than average number of area studies majors, most likely reflecting the tradition of Oriental studies departments.[3] One potentially serious finding is the large number of language and literature majors in the Soviet/East European field; almost half of FLAS Ph.D.s in this world area majored in language and literature.[4] Although the link is circumstantial instead of causal at this point, this finding needs to be considered in light of the above-average unemployment among Soviet and East European specialists and among language and literature majors (Table 2.6).

FLAS Ph.D.s earned their doctorates at 100 institutions, but most (70.4 percent) did so at only 14: Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Princeton, Stanford, UC Berkeley, UCLA, Washington, Wisconsin, and Yale. The reason for this concentration, however, was that over 70 percent of the FLAS/NDFL fellowships available during the period were awarded to these 14 institutions.

UNDERGRADUATE TRAINING

In contrast with this graduate-level concentration, FLAS Ph.D.s received their B.A.s from 465 institutions. As Table 2.3 indicates, these institutions vary considerably in the selectivity of their admissions policies. The large number of undergraduate institutions attended by individuals in our sample and their distribution on the selectivity index indicate that, in language and area studies, the highest-quality Ph.D.-granting institutions are recruiting from a very broad base and not merely from institutions like themselves. In this sense, then, recruitment into advanced training in language and area studies is an open, meritocratic process.

The undergraduate grade point average (GPA) for the entire sample is 3.4, with 38 percent earning an A– (3.7) or above. There being no significant differences[5] over cohorts, student quality has not declined over time, at least on this measure.

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[3]Area studies majors are those who coded themselves as receiving their Ph.D.s in African studies, East Asian studies, etc., and who were not affiliated with a disciplinary department during their graduate training.

[4]The proportion of language and literature majors is also very high for the Western European areas, but since few FLAS fellowships are awarded in this world area, the cell size is too small to make any valid comparisons.

[5]Unless otherwise noted, all reported differences are significant at $p \leq .05$. A t-test was used to compare pairs of means and Duncan's multiple range test was used for

Table 2.3

Institutional Ranking by Undergraduate Selectivity Index

(In percent)

Category	Ranking of Institutions Attended by FLAS Ph.D.s as Undergraduates[a] (N = 1915)	Ranking of Institutions Currently Employing FLAS Ph.D.s[b] (N = 1393)
Most selective	20.9	5.3
Highly (+) selective	9.3	2.9
Highly selective	5.7	4.4
Very (+) selective	9.2	5.3
Very selective	7.2	6.1
Selective (+)	3.7	4.6
Selective	17.0	19.7
Unranked	27.0	51.1
Professional school/ no undergraduates		0.7

NOTE: Institutions were categorized according to an undergraduate selectivity index developed by James Cass and Max Birnbaum, *Comparative Guide to American Colleges*, 10th ed., Harper & Row, New York, 1981. The categories are based on the percentage of applicants accepted by an institution, the average test scores of recent freshman classes, the ranking of recent freshmen in their high school classes, and other relevant data that measure the scholastic potential of the undergraduate student body.

Examples of institutions in each category include: *Most selective*--Dartmouth, University of Chicago, Reed, and Harvard; *highly (+) selective*--Brandeis, Middlebury, and Northwestern; *highly selective*--Tulane, Vassar, and University of Virginia; *very (+) selective*--Bennington, University of California, Berkeley, and Sarah Lawrence; *very selective*--the University of Illinois, George Washington University, and SUNY, Stony Brook; *selective (+)*--the University of Minnesota, Boston University, and Rutgers; *selective*--University of Florida, University of Southern California, and University of Texas; and *unranked*--the California state college system, Arizona State, and University of Oklahoma.

This index does not, however, measure the selectivity or quality of graduate programs. In fact, a few institutions that are very selective in their graduate programs related to language and area studies (e.g., University of Washington and Indiana University) are unranked at the undergraduate level.

[a]FLAS Ph.D.s received their B.A.s from 465 institutions.

[b]FLAS Ph.D.s currently teach in 456 institutions.

For most disciplines, one-half to two-thirds of the sample took their Ph.D.s in the same discipline as their B.A. Undergraduate history, language and literature, and political science majors are the most likely to have continued in the same discipline for their Ph.D.s. As expected, given their primarily graduate focus, area studies and the professional fields have the lowest match between B.A. and Ph.D. majors. The majority of Ph.D.s with an area studies major obtained their B.A.s in history or in language and literature. The few professional Ph.D.s in the sample majored in a broad variety of disciplines as undergraduates.[6]

Chapter 3 discusses respondents' language and area studies training in greater detail, but several aspects of their undergraduate preparation are noted here. The majority of the sample had at least limited exposure to international studies as undergraduates, with 60 percent of them taking three or more courses dealing with some region of the world. Only 45 percent, however, took courses on the same world area in which they specialized during their Ph.D. training. This suggests that over half the sample entered graduate school with little formal knowledge about the area in which they chose to specialize. Fully 71 percent of the sample studied at least one Western language as undergraduates, and 23 percent a non-Western language.

The proportion of people taking undergraduate area studies courses does not differ significantly over cohorts. Rather, differences across world areas and academic disciplines are significant. History, geography, language and literature, and political science majors reported taking such courses more frequently than those in other disciplines. East Asian and Latin American specialists took world area courses in significantly greater numbers than South Asian, African, and Southeast Asian specialists. Although we do not know the precise reasons for these differences, we can speculate about one potential factor. Given the broad range of undergraduate institutions attended, it is likely that many do not offer extensive coursework outside of the more established world area specialties, such as Latin America and East Asia. So the relative differences in undergraduate preparation that we observed across world areas may reflect unequal opportunity more than varying levels of motivation.

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comparing more than two means. The Wilcoxon rank sum test was used for comparing pairs of medians; this procedure is equivalent to the Mann-Whitney U-test. A percentage difference coefficient was used to compare frequencies across groups. (For a discussion of the percentage difference coefficient, see Quinn McNemar, *Psychological Statistics*, 3d ed., John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1965, pp. 63-69.)

[6]Because such a small group of FLAS Ph.D.s earned their doctorates in professional fields, it is not possible to identify any systematic trends across either cohorts or undergraduate majors for those who switched to a professional field in graduate school.

GRADUATE TRAINING

Not surprisingly, most respondents reported intellectual interest or curiosity as the primary reason for their decision to specialize in a particular country or region (Table 2.4). However, about a third of the sample gave a reason related to their personal experience in that region (e.g., Peace Corps service in the area, missionary work, military service, or time spent living in the region as a child). For example, 79 percent of those who had been in the Peace Corps cited that experience as their primary motivation. The Peace Corps experience was particularly important for African specialists: Over one-quarter of them cited it as their primary motivation. Similarly, one-quarter of those who had served in the military abroad cited that experience as their primary motivation. About a fifth of those who had taken undergraduate world area courses mentioned them as the major influence on their decision to concentrate on a particular country or region.

Once they decided to specialize, graduate school became a major time investment. On average, respondents took slightly over 8 years to complete their Ph.D.s, although they were officially enrolled in

Table 2.4

INITIAL MOTIVATION FOR WORLD AREA SPECIALIZATION OF FLAS PH.D.S
(N = 1901)

Motivation	Percent
Intellectual interest or curiosity	41.5
An undergraduate course or teacher	14.7
Travel experience	8.6
Peace Corps service in the area	7.6
Native (or family's native) country/region	5.7
Missionary/religious work abroad	3.9
Research in the area	3.1
Military service in the area	3.0
Family lived in the area	2.5
Contact in U.S. with area nationals	2.1
Other	7.3

graduate school for only about 5.7 of those years. East Asian specialists spent the longest time in graduate school (8.9 years total, 6.3 years officially enrolled), a significantly longer period than for all other world areas except Western Europe and Southeast Asia. Similarly, historians, anthropologists, and language and literature majors took significantly longer to complete their Ph.D.s than their colleagues in economics.[7]

The time spent in graduate school has steadily increased over cohorts, with the latest two spending significantly more time earning their Ph.D.s than the two earliest cohorts. The 1977-79 cohort spent, on average, almost an entire year more enrolled in graduate school than the 1967-70 cohort. Since the training each group received was about the same, the extra time may simply be due to the depressed job market. Students may have decided to improve their employment chances by completing more of their dissertation before leaving graduate school, or merely to stay in school until they could find an appropriate job.

All but a fraction of FLAS Ph.D.s received an M.A. before earning their doctorate, with most receiving the degree in a specific discipline (Table 2.5). A few respondents (5.5 percent) earned a second M.A., usually in a professional field such as business, law, public health, or agriculture. About one-eighth of the sample earned at least one of their degrees (B.A., M.A., or Ph.D.) in some professional field.

Graduate Financial Aid

Simply by virtue of the sample's composition, the most common funding source for their graduate training was the FLAS/NDFL fellowship,[8] and on average, respondents received FLAS support for 2.5 years.[9] FLAS recipients also received an additional 2.4 years of

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[7]On average, FLAS recipients took longer to complete their Ph.D.s than Lambert's earlier sample of specialists. Lambert reported that the 1967-69 program graduates in his sample spent an average 6.33 years from first graduate registration to completion of the Ph.D.; this compares with an average of slightly over eight years for FLAS Ph.D.s. However, like those in the FLAS Ph.D. group, the East Asian specialists in Lambert's sample spent the longest time completing their doctoral studies (an average 7.25 years). Lambert, p. 342.

[8]Only 67.6 percent of those who received FLAS/NDFL fellowships recall having had them. We believe that this problem in respondent recall may be due to our listing of "NDEA Title IV" immediately after "NDFL/FLAS Title VI" on the questionnaire. Some respondents confused the two, thus causing an undercount of FLAS fellowships and an overcount of the old NDEA Title IV fellowships.

[9]There were no systematic differences in the length of the FLAS funding across either cohorts or disciplines. However, on average, Africanists received FLAS funding for a significantly shorter period (1.96 years) than did South Asian (2.4 years), Middle Eastern (2.5 years), or East Asian (2.6 years) specialists.

Table 2.5

TYPE OF M.A. EARNED BY FLAS PH.D.S
(N = 1691)

Type of M.A.	%
Disciplinary	75.3
Area studies	20.0
Professional	4.7

NOTE: 12.5 percent (N = 244) of the sample did not obtain an M.A.

fellowship support from one or two other sources.[10] The largest funding sources after FLAS were internal university fellowship funds (36.6 percent of the sample received them), NDEA Title IV (31.2 percent), and the Fulbright-Hays student fellowship program run by ED (17.6 percent).[11]

Respondents supplemented these fellowship resources in a number of ways. Over half the sample (53.6 percent) supported at least part of their graduate training through their own savings and non-training-related employment. Half the group also held teaching assistantships and 27.1 percent worked as research assistants. Other supplemental

[10]There were no significant differences across cohorts in the total years of fellowship funding received from all sources and only modest differences exist across disciplines, with historians and sociologists receiving significantly more years of funding than those in professional fields. Differences among the other disciplines were not significant.

The world areas, however, do vary somewhat in the total years of funding that students received. Students with an East Asian specialization received, on average, significantly more years of funding than students in every other world area except Southeast Asia. Those focusing on Western Europe received significantly fewer years of funding than their counterparts in every other world area. Differences among the other world areas were not significant.

[11]There have been some changes in the major sources of financial aid over time. For example, Ford Foundation support, both through the Foreign Area program and general Foundation fellowships, has declined. Likewise, the proportion of people receiving NDEA Title IV fellowships significantly decreased as that program was phased out. On the other hand, Fulbright-Hays support has remained essentially stable over time. One major funding source has actually increased the proportion of students it supports. Internal university fellowship funds (as distinct from either teaching or research assistantships) supported a significantly greater proportion of students in the latest Ph.D. cohort than it did in the earliest one. In this sense, universities have attempted not only to supplement the external funding available to students, but also to increase their gap-filler role as outside funding has declined.

sources included familial contributions, loans, and employer support. About 10 percent of the sample received funding under the G.I. Bill.

About a third of the sample indicated that the availability of financial support affected either their choice of a world area or dissertation topic. In responses to open-ended questions, a number of people indicated that without financial assistance like Title VI, they would have been unable to attend graduate school. Others noted that it had affected their choice of a region, because proportionately more money was available in some world areas than in others (e.g., several respondents reported moving from Western European studies to other areas such as Slavic and Latin American studies). As would be expected, the availability of financial support also determined whether dissertation data could be collected abroad.

Graduate Coursework

FLAS Ph.D.s apportioned their time in graduate school in a number of different ways. But somewhat surprisingly, given the significant change in employment patterns over time, these differences are unrelated to when a respondent received his or her Ph.D. Rather, they stem from the world area and disciplinary choices that respondents made.

For example, there are no significant differences across cohorts in the proportion of graduate coursework devoted to language acquisition. However, as Figs. 2.1 and 2.2 indicate, significant differences exist across world areas and disciplines. As might be expected, East Asian, Middle Eastern, and South Asian specialists spent significantly more time on language study than students in other world areas. This additional time was needed not only because these languages are more difficult to learn, but also because students of other world areas, particularly Latin America and the USSR/Eastern Europe, enter graduate school with more prior language training.

When we examine the time spent in language study by discipline, four distinct groups emerge. Students in professional fields, sociology, economics, geography, political science, and anthropology spent the least amount of time in language study. History students and those in linguistics and the other humanities devoted similar amounts of their coursework to language study. Language and literature students spent significantly more time than those in the other two groups, and those in area studies spent significantly more time on language acquisition than students in all other disciplines.

We can get a sense of the centrality of area studies to various disciplines by looking at the percentage of graduate coursework devoted to

NOTE: Students specializing in East Asia and the Middle East spent significantly more time in language study ($p \leq .05$) than those in all other world areas. South Asian specialists spent significantly more time than students with a USSR/East European, Southeast Asian, West European, African, or Latin American focus.

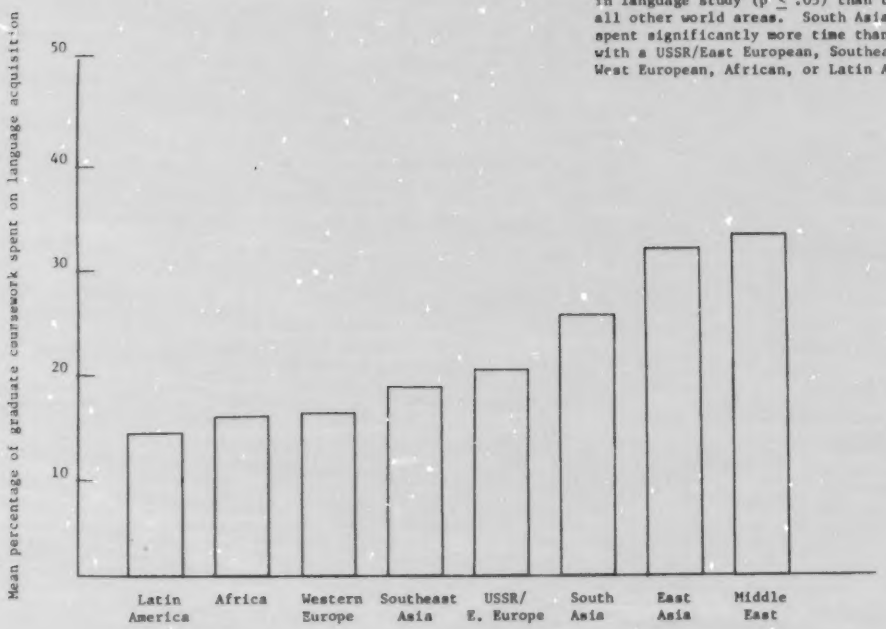

Fig. 2.1—Proportion of graduate coursework that FLAS Ph.D.s devoted to language acquisition, by world area

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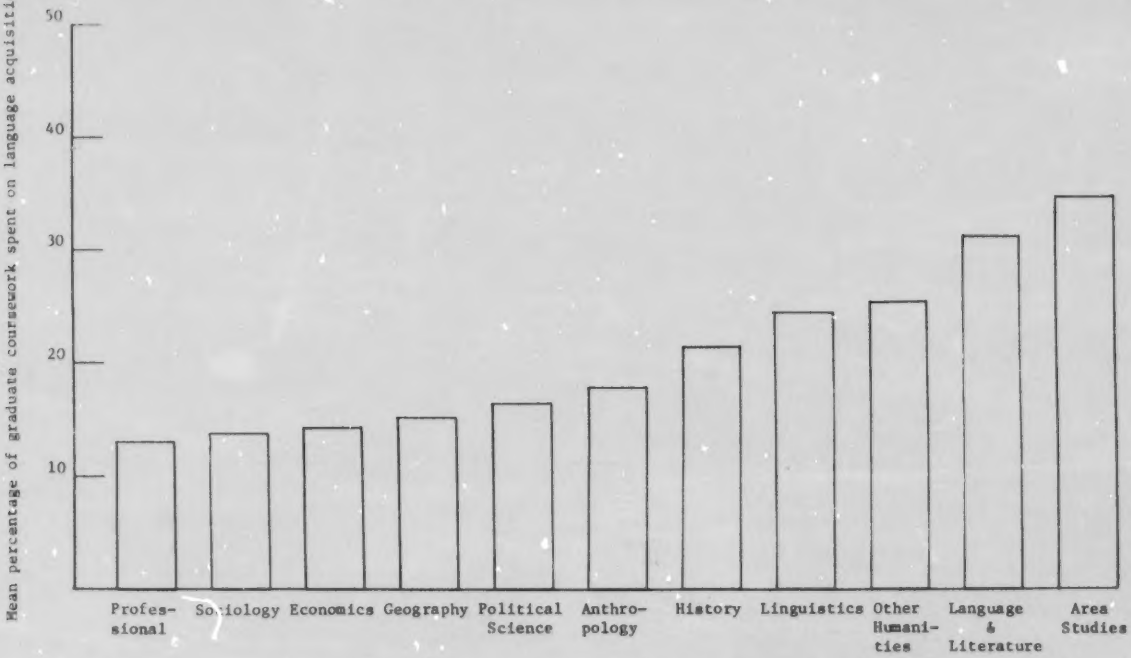

Fig. 2.2—Proportion of graduate coursework that FLAS Ph.D.s devoted to language acquisition, by academic discipline

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world area courses within a respondent's academic major: 45.6 percent for history majors, 39.7 percent for area studies majors; and roughly 20 to 25 percent for anthropology and political science majors. Economics majors spent only 10 percent of their coursework on area courses in economics, and sociology and professional majors spent less than 15 percent. Conversely, economics students spent the greatest amount of time in non-area courses in their major (56 percent); history and area studies majors the least (17 and 13 percent, respectively).

To determine the extent of interdisciplinary training that FLAS Ph.D.s received, we asked them about the proportion of their coursework devoted to their world area specialization, but outside their academic major. Slightly over half the sample (57 percent) took at least some area courses in an academic discipline other than their major one. Soviet, Southeast Asian, and Western European specialists spent the greatest amount of time, with East Asian specialists spending the least, taking courses outside their academic disciplines. However, no world area had students spending more than an average 20 percent of their coursework on such interdisciplinary courses. Economics was the least interdisciplinary, and geography, area studies, the other humanities, and history, the most interdisciplinary. There were no significant differences across cohorts, thus strongly suggesting that language and area studies have not become more interdisciplinary over time.

In responses to open-ended questions, a number of FLAS Ph.D.s recommended that students currently considering graduate training in language and area studies be certain to take courses in statistics, policy analysis, and computer science along with their disciplinary and language courses. For the most part, however, this recommendation comes not from respondents' own experience taking these courses, but from their sense of what the current job market demands. Only a quarter of our sample took any such courses and for those who did, only about 11 percent of their coursework was devoted to these more applied subjects. The eight world areas do not differ significantly in the amount of applied coursework taken by their students, and only slight differences emerged across cohorts, with the latest cohort taking significantly more of these courses (those in the 1977-79 cohort who took such courses spent an average 12.2 percent of their coursework on them) than the earliest one (9.9 percent). When we compare by discipline, we find, as might be expected, that those in sociology, geography, and the professional fields spent the greatest proportion of their time on these applied subjects, and area studies, linguistics, and history, the least.

Across the entire sample, about the same amount of coursework was devoted to the pre-1800 time period as to the 1800-1945 and 1945 to the present periods. Similarly, about the same proportion of respondents (approximately 17 percent) took no coursework in the first time period as took none in the two later periods.[12]

This examination of graduate coursework confirms some major findings from our earlier examination of the Title VI program as it operates in those universities with Title VI-funded centers and FLAS fellowships. First, both studies point to the importance of a student's academic discipline in determining how much time the student can devote to language acquisition. Language and literature, area studies, and linguistics are, almost by definition, the most receptive to language and area studies, and tend to encourage their students to spend considerable time on language study. Because other disciplines, particularly economics, sociology, and the professional fields, do not value language and area studies highly, students in these disciplines have little incentive to acquire any depth of language competence.[13] Second, we found in both studies that the amount of actual interdisciplinary work in language and area studies is minimal. Although university area centers encourage scholarly exchange among area specialists from various disciplines, this usually happens at the level of periodic seminars and informal discussions. Interdisciplinary research and teaching, however, is often quite limited. Not surprisingly, then, we found that FLAS Ph.D.s have only a cursory exposure to area courses in disciplines other than their own. Finally, both studies indicate that the language and area studies curriculum for most FLAS Ph.D.s has remained relatively stable over the past fifteen years, despite major changes in the job market these students must enter.[14]

Dissertations and Postdoctoral Study

About two-thirds of the sample (65.9 percent) collected dissertation materials in the country or region in which they specialized.[15] The

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[12]Students specializing in Africa spent the least amount of time studying the pre-1800 period in their world area (16.7 percent); with Middle Eastern specialists spent by far the most (52 percent). On the other hand, students with a Soviet/East European focus concentrated, on average, almost half their coursework (44 percent) on the 1800-1945 period. Also interesting is the finding that those with an area studies major devoted an average 52 percent of their coursework to the pre-1800 period and only 20 percent to the post-World War II period. At the same time, there are no significant differences across Ph.D. cohorts in the emphasis given these three historical periods.

[13]McDonnell et al., pp. 55-56.

[14]Ibid., p. 154.

[15]The proportion of FLAS Ph.D.s who collected dissertation materials abroad is significantly higher than it was for the Ph.D.s in Lambert's earlier study of language and

proportion of respondents who were able to travel abroad for dissertation work is quite stable over Ph.D. cohorts, but differs by world area and discipline. African specialists are the most likely to have gone abroad for such work (80.8 percent did so) and Soviet/East European specialists the least likely (42.5 percent). Historians, anthropologists, and geographers are the most likely to have collected dissertation materials abroad, with over three-fourths of the students in these disciplines doing so; language and literature majors were the least likely, with less than half of them doing so.

One-third of the sample has engaged in some type of postdoctoral study, and over a third of this group undertook postdoctoral work in a different field from their Ph.D.[16] For example, a number of people used this time to study an applied discipline, such as public health, business, university administration, and library science. Others used it to learn languages outside their world area, while others spent the time improving their methodological skills in economics and statistics.

Upon leaving graduate school, then, the majority of our Ph.D. sample had at least some first-hand experience in their region of specialization, largely through dissertation research and language study abroad. However, the depth of their language and area studies training varied significantly across world areas and disciplines. In addition, most were educated to be academics; few received any type of applied training.

The next section examines what happened to these FLAS Ph.D.s once they entered the job market.

CAREER PATTERNS AND SKILL UTILIZATION

Employment Status and Salary

Several very clear findings emerge from an examination of our sample's current employment (Tables 2.6 and 2.7). The first is the significant difference between the employment status of men and women. Even when we exclude from our calculations those who are voluntarily out of the labor force because of marital or parenting respon-

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area specialists. Less than half the Ph.D.s in Lambert's sample were able to collect dissertation materials in the country or region in which they specialized during graduate training.

[16]The proportion of FLAS Ph.D.s who engaged in postdoctoral study does not vary significantly across world areas, but there are some significant differences over cohorts. A significantly greater proportion of those in the 1967-70 Ph.D. cohort (37.2 percent) engaged in postdoctoral study than did those in the 1977-79 cohort (29.1 percent).

Table 2.6

Employment Status by Sex, World Area, Discipline, and Ph.D. Cohort

	N	% Full-time Employed	% Part-time Employed	% Not employed
Sex				
Male	1469	90.3	5.7	3.9
Female	416	79.6	8.9	11.5
World Area				
Africa	179	89.9	4.5	5.6
East Asia	452	87.6	6.6	5.8
Latin America	360	88.3	6.9	4.7
Middle East	205	89.3	4.4	6.3
South Asia	166	81.9	11.4	6.6
Southeast Asia	100	87.0	11.0	2.0
USSR/Eastern Europe	382	88.7	4.5	6.8
Western Europe	41	92.7	4.9	2.4
Discipline				
History	489	89.4	6.1	4.5
Language & literature	480	84.7	6.3	9.1
Linguistics	118	89.8	1.7	8.5
Other humanities	51	90.2	3.9	5.9
Area studies	177	84.2	9.6	6.2
Anthropology	136	87.5	8.1	4.4
Economics	54	96.3	3.7	0.0
Geography	55	89.1	9.1	1.8
Sociology	59	88.1	8.5	3.4
Political science	225	89.8	5.8	4.4
Professional	31	93.5	3.2	3.2
Other	32	87.5	12.5	0.0
Ph.D. Cohort				
1967-70	467	91.4	4.7	3.9
1971-73	518	88.0	6.8	5.2
1974-76	496	88.1	6.0	5.8
1977-79	404	83.7	8.4	7.9

Table 2.7

Current Employers and Primary Work Activities of Employed FLAS Ph.D.s

(In percent)

N = 1810	
Employer	
Junior/2-year college	1.3
Four-year college	12.2
University	61.9
Professional school	1.5
Elementary/secondary school	1.0
Private sector financial institution	1.2
Export/import firm	0.3
Personal service sector (hotel, airlines, etc.)	0.6
Manufacturing firm	0.9
Management consulting firm	1.2
Private foundation	0.7
Museum or historical society	0.5
Research library or archives	0.6
Nonprofit organization	4.2
International agency	0.7
U.S. Government	5.3
State or local government	0.9
Other[a]	4.9
N = 1798	
Primary work activity	
Teaching	70.9
Basic research	2.4
Applied research	4.7
Report or other technical writing	1.3
Journalistic writing	0.6
Curatorial/librarian	1.1
Management or administration	11.9
Diplomatic corps	0.3
Other[b]	6.7

[a]Includes all respondents employed by nonacademic organizations who could not place themselves in any of the given categories (e.g., those in private law practice, publishing, real estate, and the self-employed).

[b]Indicates nonacademic work activities that could not be classified in the specified categories (e.g., secretarial, translating, and sales work).

sibilities, the unemployment rate for women is 8.7 percent but only 4 percent for men.[17]

Although the proportion of those not currently employed varies by world area, none of these differences is statistically significant. However, there are some significant differences among disciplines. The unemployment rate for language and literature majors and for those with Ph.D.s in linguistics is significantly higher than it is for political scientists and historians, and especially FLAS economists, who are all currently employed. (Differences among other disciplines are not significant, largely because of small cell sizes.)

Another very important finding, in addition to the major differential between the employment status of men and women, is the increased unemployment over Ph.D. cohorts. Not only is the proportion of those not currently employed significantly higher in the most recent cohort than in the earliest one, but when cohort is regressed on unemployment, it shows a strong positive trend ($b = 1.26$, $R^2 = 0.95$). In sum, those in the most recent Ph.D. cohort are twice as likely to be currently unemployed or to have only a part-time job.

These differences among Ph.D. cohorts persist when we examine the positions held by those who are currently employed full-time. In fact, one of the strongest findings to emerge from our data is the sharp increase in nonacademic employment across Ph.D. cohorts (Fig. 2.3).[18] Twice as many people in the latest cohort as in the earliest hold nonacademic jobs. Yet only 40 percent of those currently holding nonacademic jobs entered Ph.D. training with the intention of later seeking such employment, and most of them have always been employed outside academia. However, the other FLAS Ph.D.s who now work for nonacademic employers all held academic jobs at some

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[17]The unemployment rate (i.e., the proportion of those who are not currently employed, but who wish to be) for our sample as a whole is 4.8 percent. This compares with a national unemployment rate for professional and technical workers of 2.9 percent in January 1982 (the midpoint in our survey data collection). *Employment and Earnings*, U.S. Department of Labor, Vol. 29, No. 4, April 1982, p. 34.

No comparable data are available on other Ph.D.s for the same time period. However, in February 1981 (the most recent period for which data are available), the unemployment rate was 2.5 percent for all humanities Ph.D.s who earned their degrees between 1975 and 1980; the rate was 3.2 percent for modern language and literature majors and 3.1 percent for history majors. Maxfield, p. 47.

[18]Not only are FLAS recipients in the most recent Ph.D. cohorts more likely to have nonacademic jobs than those in the earlier ones, but a greater proportion of these younger Ph.D.s have nonacademic jobs than do other humanities Ph.D.s of approximately the same age. In its 1981 survey, the NRC found that 20.4 percent of all humanities Ph.D.s who received their degrees between 1975 and 1980 are employed in nonacademic jobs. (Maxfield, p. 50.) This compares with 28.1 percent of the 1974-79 cohorts of FLAS Ph.D.s.

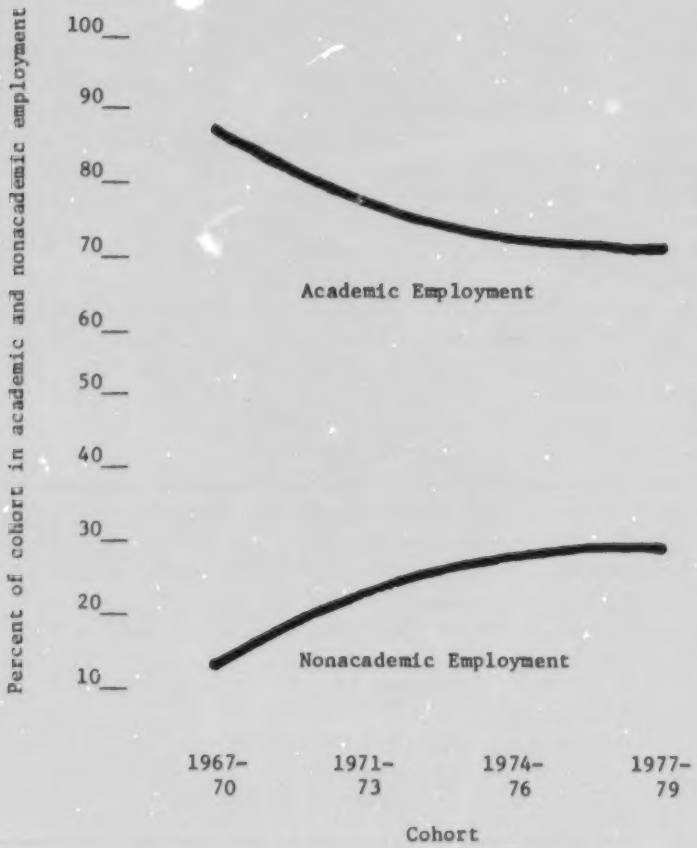

Fig. 2.3—Current employment: percent academic vs. nonacademic, by Ph.D. cohort

point in their careers.[19] As we will see later in the chapter, this growing shift from academic to nonacademic employment has profound implications for the extent to which language and area specialists are able to use their training.

[19]The fact that most FLAS Ph.D.s planned to teach, and indeed have done so, is consistent with the purpose and regulations governing the NDFL/FLAS program. Until the 1980 reauthorization of Title VI removed the restriction, ED regulations required that FLAS recipients either plan to teach or enter public service.

We can also see the changes that have occurred in the employment market for FLAS Ph.D.s when we examine the reasons respondents left their previous jobs (Table 2.8). The major reason that members of the earliest cohort took their current jobs was the prospect of a better position or, in effect, upward professional mobility. On the other hand, the primary reason that members of the most recent Ph.D. cohort changed employers was because their previous jobs were only temporary. In addition, the 1977-79 cohort was significantly more likely to cite inadequate wages as a reason for their job changes than the 1967-70 cohort. In sum, the oldest cohort changed jobs primarily for reasons of upward mobility. The youngest cohort did so mainly to avoid negative consequences.

Table 2.9 summarizes the median annual salaries for those FLAS Ph.D.s employed full-time. The salaries earned by the academics in our sample are basically comparable by rank and discipline to the 1981-82 median salaries of all academics teaching in the humanities and social sciences.[20]

Table 2.8

REASONS FOR LEAVING PREVIOUS JOB BY PH.D. COHORT
(In percent)

Reason for Leaving	Ph.D. Cohort			
	1967-70 (N=209)	1971-73 (N=264)	1974-76 (N=264)	1977-79 (N=202)
Did not receive tenure or was fired	14.4	17.4	8.0	4.5
Temporary position (nonrenewable)	22.5	22.0	31.1	42.6
Unable to use training	0.9	2.7	2.3	4.5
Wages inadequate	1.9	2.3	2.3	6.9
Promotion prospects uncertain or inadequate	5.3	3.0	5.7	3.0
Family or personal considerations	8.6	13.3	10.2	6.9
Offered a better job	46.4	39.4	40.5	31.7

NOTE: About 44 percent of the sample (N=748) have held only one job since earning their Ph.D.s. This group is divided almost evenly across the four Ph.D. cohorts.

[20] "Faculty Salaries for 1981-82 by Rank and Discipline," prepared by John Minter Associates for *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, November 18, 1981, p. 14.

Table 2.9

MEDIAN 1981-82 ANNUAL SALARY OF FLAS PH.D.S EMPLOYED FULL-TIME BY SEX, PH.D. COHORT, TYPE OF EMPLOYER, WORLD AREA, AND ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE

(In $ thousand)

Item	Salary	Item	Salary
Sex		World Area	
Male	$25.0	Africa	$24.0
Female	22.0	East Asia	24.5
		Latin America	25.0
Ph.D. Cohort		Middle East	25.0
1967-70	28.0	South Asia	24.0
1971-73	25.5	Southeast Asia	25.6
1974-76	23.0	USSR/E. Europe	24.0
1977-79	20.0	Western Europe	21.5
Employer		Academic Discipline	
Academic		History	24.0
Assistant professor	20.0	Language and literature	23.0
Associate professor	24.9	Linguistics	24.0
Professor	30.0	Other humanities	23.0
Other[a]	24.0	Area studies	25.0
		Anthropology	23.0
Nonacademic		Economics	30.0
Business/industry	30.0	Geography	25.5
Government	33.5	Sociology	25.0
Nonprofit organization[b]	30.0	Political science	26.0
		Professional	30.0
		Other	23.1

[a]Includes instructors, lecturers, research associates, and those who used the "Other" category in describing their present rank.

[b]Included in this category are all respondents who designated their employer as a nonprofit organization as well as those who indicated employment with a private foundation, museum or historical society, research library, or international agency.

Profile of FLAS Ph.D.s Employed as Academics

Despite a sharp rise in the number of FLAS Ph.D.s employed in nonacademic positions, the vast majority are currently teaching in colleges and universities. Most are tenured (66.1 percent);[21] most are

[21]This ratio is comparable to the 69.3 percent tenure rate for the larger NRC sample of humanists, whose median age is about four years older than our sample's. Maxfield, pp. 44, 65.

able to combine teaching and research; and most work in institutions with some type of organized language and area studies program.

One particularly important finding relates to where these FLAS Ph.D.s currently teach. Those who argued that a program like FLAS, which supports graduate training at a relatively small number of high-quality institutions, would produce a cadre of specialists who would then teach in a broad range of institutions are essentially correct. Largely because of the academic job market, FLAS Ph.D.s are now teaching at 456 institutions nationwide, most of which are not highly selective in their admissions policies (Table 2.3). Only 17.2 percent of the academics in our sample currently teach in institutions with a Title VI-funded center in their world areas and only 13.4 percent teach in the fourteen institutions that produced the bulk of FLAS Ph.D.s.[22]

The fact that FLAS Ph.D.s are teaching at such a large number of diverse institutions means that many now work in an atmosphere quite different from where they were trained. For example, over half the academics in our sample teach in institutions with six or fewer faculty specializing in the same world area. For 8 percent of the sample, there is no other specialist on campus in the same world area. In addition, across all the campuses where FLAS Ph.D.s teach, the median number of specialists in the same world area has not increased significantly between the time these faculty members were hired and now.

Some of our respondents expressed disappointment about having to teach in smaller institutions that do not provide them with sufficient opportunity to use their language and area studies training. One respondent summarized such sentiment in this way:

> My graduate training prepared me to teach undergraduate and graduate students at a university, but the job market has offered only smaller four-year colleges with limited opportunities for specialization. My present position affords little chance to pursue research opportunities and language training at home or abroad; it demands utmost versatility rather than exclusive area specialization. One tends to fall between two stools—finding it tough to keep up with one's area specialty and at the same time handle the wide range of more traditional courses in undergraduate Western civilization and the humanities. . . .

Many others, however, have found ways to pursue their specialization and even define a new sense of mission for themselves while

[22]About 5 percent of the academics in our sample teach in foreign institutions, mainly in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia.

teaching in a smaller institution. A 1972 Ph.D. in South Asian studies is typical of this more adaptive approach:

> I am very happy with my career—it's stimulating, challenging and rewarding. I once hoped that I would get a super job at a university with an area studies program, but my position was one of the last in South Asian history. I wanted to teach and I am doing that. I have been able to do research and publish, and my book won a major award. Having "produced," I have been able to get support for further research. Conferences, seminars, research trips, and writing provide me with contacts and intellectual stimulation. Generally, I have become more concerned with the role of area specialists in popularizing area studies than I was. I no longer yearn for an office at the University of Chicago!

One way in which those teaching at smaller institutions avoid intellectual isolation and skill attrition is to take advantage of the international studies resources at other, larger institutions. Almost half (45.4 percent) of the academics in our sample use the facilities or regularly participate in the activities of an area center at an institution other than their own. Also, despite the small number of specialists on many campuses, about 60 percent of the FLAS academics who stayed in area studies[23] teach in institutions with an organized language and area studies program in their world area. Fifty-seven percent of those with such a program rate it as providing them with substantial benefits, while the remainder report that it does not provide considerable benefits.[24] Major benefits for respondents include: research and travel funds, interaction with colleagues and students having similar interests, good library facilities, the opportunity to bring other experts to campus, and assistance in recruiting good graduate students. The primary reasons for a negative assessment stem from either a lack of program or center funding, a weak organizational structure (e.g., a program in name only), internecine fights that exclude certain disciplines or time periods (e.g., classical vs. modern), or a feeling that the work required of faculty is not worth the benefits.

For the most part, then, the academics in our sample are working as language and area specialists despite having fewer colleagues and in-

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[23]About 5 percent of the academics in our sample have left area studies. Major reasons given were the development of new interests in their core discipline and a belief that career opportunities would be better for a non-area studies Ph.D.

[24]The proportion of FLAS academics with an organized language and area studies program in their world area is virtually identical to that reported by the academics in Lambert's earlier study. Similarly, the proportion reporting that the program provides them with substantial benefits is also about equal for the two groups.

ternational studies resources where they now teach than where they were trained. This finding was reinforced when we asked academic respondents to rate their teaching, research, and outside professional activities on a five-point scale according to the extent to which these activities focus on their disciplines as compared with their regional specializations. These data show that for most academics in our sample, their professional activities focus more on their regional than on their disciplinary specialization (Fig. 2.4). The strength of the area focus is most striking in research and professional activities, where faculty members are likely to have greater autonomy in deciding what to concentrate on than they do in their teaching. When we compare disciplinary vs. regional focus across world areas, we find the pattern is similar for all: A greater proportion of academic specialists rate their work as having more of a regional than a disciplinary focus. However, the pattern is most pronounced for East Asia, where over 70 percent of the academic specialists describe their research and outside professional activities as more focused or wholly focused on their area specialty. About half of this group rate their teaching activities in the same way. On the other hand, Western European specialists tend to have the greatest disciplinary focus.

Lest this finding be overinterpreted to suggest that area specialists completely neglect disciplinary perspectives in their work, it is important to consider several factors. First, depending on the activity, one-fifth to one-third of academic respondents rated their professional activities as equally balanced between their disciplines and area specializations. If we exclude those at the extremes of the distribution (i.e., wholly regional or wholly disciplinary), we find that at least half the sample falls within these boundaries. Second, our respondents may simply have been using a very strict definition of "wholly concerned with region." Rather than implying that they do not use their disciplinary training at all, they may have meant that their work is not transnational or transregional in its focus. In other words, the work is not comparative in the way a strictly disciplinary social scientist would define it. However, as most area specialists know, that approach is particularly difficult, especially when area studies expertise allows the analyst to identify the full range of variation across societies: Grand comparative theory is hard to apply in the face of subtle and complex realities.[25]

On the whole, FLAS academics complement their teaching with an active research and scholarly production agenda. Almost two-thirds

[25]We are grateful to Robert Ward of Stanford and Stephen Weatherford of the University of California, Santa Barbara, for suggesting the distinction between transregional research and within-region research using disciplinary tools.

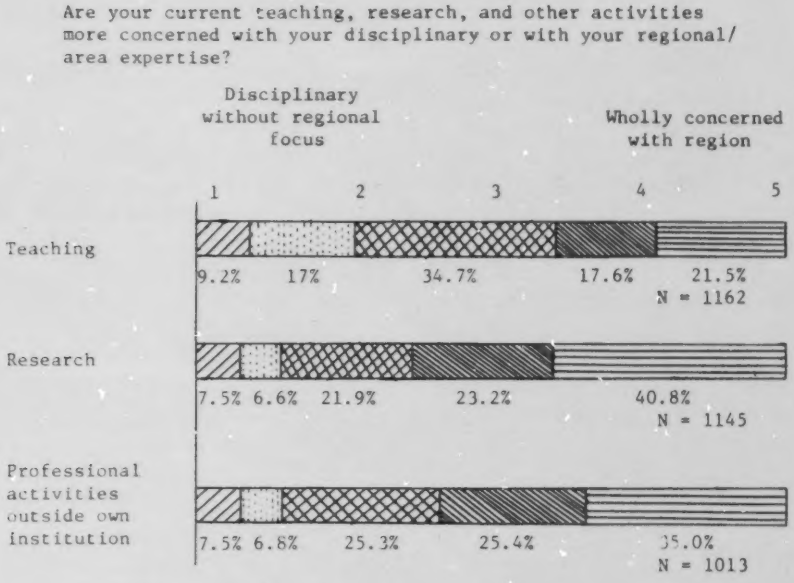

Fig. 2.4—Disciplinary vs. regional/area focus in academic activities for FLAS Ph.D.s

(64 percent) of the academic sample received some kind of research funding over the past three years. About half of those receiving funding obtained it from either a foundation or governmental source; 42 percent received their support from internal university sources; and the remaining grants and contracts came from other sources, primarily in the private sector. The median amount received was about $5000, although 59 awards were between $100,000 and $750,000 and three were between $1 million and $1.2 million.[26] Despite growing fiscal stringency in higher education, respondents reported only slightly increased difficulty in obtaining research funds over the past three years as compared with the period prior to three years ago.[27]

[26]The time period for individual research grants and contracts ranged from one month to seven years with a median period of about six months.

[27]Respondents were asked to rate the level of difficulty that they have experienced in obtaining research funds on a five-point scale with 1 = very difficult and 5 = little or no difficulty. The proportion reporting little or no difficulty is exactly the same for the two time periods (18 percent). However, the proportion rating the level of difficulty as "1" or "2" is significantly higher for the current period (30 percent) as compared with three years ago (25 percent).

Table 2.10 presents an overview of the scholarly productivity of FLAS Ph.D.s and indicates some significant differences among world areas and disciplines. For example, African and Southeast Asian specialists have produced the highest median number of books, significantly more than Middle Eastern, South Asian, or Latin American specialists. African specialists have also written significantly more books than those with an East Asian or Soviet specialty.

The pattern shifts slightly when we examine scholarly journal articles and popular articles in magazines and newspapers. Latin American and Soviet specialists write significantly more journal articles than their colleagues in East and Southeast Asian studies. East Asian and Middle East specialists account for the highest proportion of authors of popular articles and the highest median number of such articles.

Table 2.10

Scholarly Production of FLAS Ph.D.s by World Area, Discipline, and Academic vs. Nonacademic Employment

Item	N	Authored Books		Journal Articles		Popular Articles	
		% of Group with Books	Median Number of Books	% of Group with Articles	Median Number of Articles	% of Group with Articles	Median Number of Articles
World area							
Africa	182	42.6	1.45	65.9	4.00	26.9	2.44
East Asia	464	49.1	1.25	66.2	3.36	42.7	3.31
Latin America	372	37.6	1.34	61.3	4.79	34.9	2.40
Middle East	222	51.4	1.17	60.8	4.31	36.0	3.64
South Asia	173	46.8	1.18	63.6	3.89	34.1	2.05
Southeast Asia	101	36.6	1.43	67.3	3.50	31.7	2.30
USSR/Eastern Europe	392	41.1	1.22	62.5	4.80	33.7	2.89
Western Europe	43	53.5	1.27	60.5	5.13	32.6	2.50
All areas	1949	44.3	1.26	63.7	4.11	35.6	2.74
Academic discipline							
History	504	43.8	1.22	64.5	3.44	35.9	3.14
Language and literature	442	42.1	1.24	57.9	4.46	29.6	2.53
Linguistics	121	49.6	1.57	60.3	4.58	19.8	2.70
Other humanities	53	52.8	1.20	66.0	3.75	35.8	2.14
Area studies	186	50.5	1.23	55.4	3.46	36.0	3.20
Anthropology	139	44.6	1.30	78.4	3.96	35.3	2.07
Economics	55	36.4	1.33	69.1	5.50	40.0	3.50
Geography	56	32.1	1.33	75.0	4.50	44.6	2.67
Sociology	60	28.3	1.19	65.0	5.13	45.0	2.42
Political science	233	47.2	1.15	67.8	3.44	44.2	2.75
Professional	33	42.4	1.26	51.5	4.13	42.4	2.78
Other	33	45.5	1.38	66.7	7.60	51.6	2.83
All disciplines	1915	43.4	1.26	62.4	4.08	34.8	2.74
Current employer							
Academic	1393	48.5	1.26	70.9	4.30	37.2	2.76
Nonacademic	417	34.3	1.25	45.8	3.20	33.6	3.05

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We know that scholarly norms generally vary from discipline to discipline and also differ for the humanities and the social sciences. Among FLAS Ph.D.s, linguists write significantly more books than their colleagues in other humanities-oriented disciplines, such as history and language and literature. The anthropologists in our sample have written significantly more than the sociologists. The differences between political scientists and economists are not significant for either books or journal articles. As expected, a much larger proportion of FLAS Ph.D.s have authored journal articles than have written either books or articles in popular publications.[28]

In sum, most of the academics in our sample are doing exactly what they were trained to do. They are using their language and area studies expertise quite extensively in all their professional activities and, by teaching at many diverse institutions, are steadily increasing the opportunities for a more heterogeneous group of students to be exposed to international studies.

Profile of FLAS Ph.D.s Employed as Nonacademics

The approximately one-quarter of FLAS Ph.D.s who do not hold jobs in postsecondary institutions work for a variety of employers, with profit-making organizations predominant. When those who coded themselves as "other" are reclassified, the distribution of nonacademic employers is as follows (N = 417):

Profit-making organizations	38.3%
Nonprofit organizations	30.2
Government—all levels	26.9
Elementary and secondary schools	4.6

[28]It is always difficult to interpret the meaning of scholarly productivity data since there is so much variation by discipline and institution. However, when we compare our findings with those from a much larger sample of academics surveyed by the American Council on Education (ACE) in 1973, we find that the average number of books and articles produced by the humanists in our sample is greater than it was for humanists in the larger ACE sample. On the other hand, the mean number of books and journal articles for FLAS social scientists is lower than for those in the ACE sample. (Comparisons between the FLAS and ACE data are based on differences between means. However, Fig. 2.5 reports medians because the distribution on the scholarly productivity variables is quite skewed.) For an analysis of the ACE data, see Richard A. Wanner, Lionel S. Lewis, and David I. Gregorio, "Research Productivity in Academia: A Comparative Study of the Sciences, Social Sciences, and Humanities," *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 54, No. 4, October 1981.

Only 9 percent of those with nonacademic jobs chose their current positions because they did not want to work in an academic institution. The remainder took a nonacademic job because it was the best or only one available. Like their academic colleagues who find themselves working in places quite different from where their graduate training prepared them, the nonacademics in our sample vary in how they feel about their present circumstances and in their optimism about how much they can use their language and area studies training. For example, one 1976 Ph.D. in Slavic studies is typical of those who are quite pessimistic about what the nonacademic job market offers for the use of their skills:

> When the bottom dropped out of the academic market, I was just beginning to look for full-time teaching. My Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literature from Harvard, while a source of personal satisfaction to me, has been an object of 1) curiosity, 2) bewilderment, 3) amusement, and 4) scorn for me in my pursuit of nonacademic employment. With a degree like that, it is hard to convince a nonacademic employer that I can do even those things a newly-graduated B.A. in English can do. It seems so esoteric, so removed from everything. It has been an uphill battle to have prospective employers look beyond the degree to the skills and expertise to which it testifies.

Typical of those who are more optimistic about their professional future is another Soviet specialist who received a Ph.D. in the late 1970s:

> I don't know whether my situation is typical for those Ph.D.s who now have unrelated nonacademic careers, but I have gone through some very distinct stages: first, the search for a job, any job, in order to survive; then, the pursuing of a new career with an acceptable level of prestige and pay. But now, I've reached another stage where once again I am trying to combine my graduate training and new professional experience. In other words, I find it inconceivable in the long run that I will be unable to use my Russian language abilities and knowledge of the Soviet Union in a professional capacity. In the years since I stopped teaching, I have continued to keep up to date in my field and have recently started writing again—now in a journalistic capacity rather than as a scholar.

However, when we look at the work environment of FLAS Ph.D.s employed in nonacademic jobs and at the reasons why they were hired, we find some cause for pessimism about their opportunities to use their language and area studies expertise. For example, nonacademic respondents were asked to rank-order the skills that were most important in the decision to hire them for their current job. Of those

answering the question,[29] most listed skills other than either language or area studies knowledge as most important in the hiring decision. These other skills include: management experience, editing and writing ability, and a variety of technical skills in such areas as finance, computers, and engineering.

About half (N = 131) of the nonacademics who answered questions about the workforce composition where they are employed reported that none of their fellow employees have similar language or world area expertise. However, about 20 percent (N = 54) work in organizations employing ten or more people with similar language and area skills. A comparable pattern emerges when we examine disciplinary concentration in the nonacademic workforce: Over 40 percent are employed by organizations in which no one else has similar disciplinary training.

Those who are able to use their languague and area studies expertise on-the-job do so in several predictable ways. Language skills are most often used in translating documents and in communicating with foreign officials and clients. Area studies knowledge is used primarily for economic and political analyses. However, only a few respondents report using their expertise in formulating either government or corporate policy. With only a few exceptions, most nonacademic respondents function below the organizational level at which U.S. public and private sector policy is made for the regions in which they specialize.

Over a quarter of the entire nonacademic sample reported that their employers had either required or provided additional training outside their areas of graduate specialization. Much of this training has been technical—for example, in computer languages, commodity trading, and epidemiology. However, a few respondents reported receiving additional foreign language training.

FLAS Ph.D.s who hold nonacademic jobs are a very diverse group. At one end of the continuum are building contractors, musicians, secretaries, and clergymen for whom language and area studies expertise is neither required nor, in some cases, even desired as a condition of employment. (In fact, several respondents reported trying to hide such skills from their employers.) However, this same sample of nonacademics also includes foreign service officers, political risk analysts, journalists, and translators, all of whom need and can use, at least to some extent, their graduate training in foreign language and area

[29]For the majority of questions on this survey, the proportion of missing data was less than 5 percent. However, for several of the questions applicable only to nonacademics, the proportion who did not answer them sharply increased to between 25 and 35 percent of the nonacademic sample. We do not know why this happened, except that those nonacademic respondents who use their language and area studies skills the least may have found the questions irrelevant and simply skipped them.

studies. Still, as a group, nonacademic respondents differ significantly from their academic counterparts in their level of relevant skill utilization.

Comparing Academics and Nonacademics

Our data clearly show that nonacademics use their language and area studies training much less frequently than those FLAS Ph.D.s now working as academics. Respondents were asked to use a five-point scale in rating the extent to which they use their language and area studies expertise on their current jobs. The differences between academics and nonacademics are striking (Fig. 2.5). Nonacademics, as compared with academics, are more than twice as likely *never* to use their language expertise and almost five times as likely *never* to use their area studies training. Conversely, academics are almost twice as likely to use their language expertise all the time and about one-and-a-half times more likely to use their area studies expertise all the time.

Although the differences between academics and nonacademics are by far the largest, there are also significant differences in language and area studies usage within our sample of nonacademics. For example, a significantly higher proportion of FLAS Ph.D.s in business than in government never use their language expertise on the job. Similarly, a significantly greater number of those in business never use their area studies expertise as compared with those FLAS Ph.D.s working in either government or nonprofit organizations.

As might be expected, a significantly lower proportion of nonacademics have written books and scholarly articles. The median number of journal articles for those who have authored such works is also significantly lower for nonacademics. However, the median number of books is not significantly different for the two groups, probably reflecting the fact that many nonacademics worked in academic institutions at some time during their careers. In terms of disseminating language and area studies knowledge to the general public, it is interesting to note that approximately one-third of each group has written articles for popular magazines and newspapers and that the median numbers for the two groups are not significantly different.

A majority of FLAS Ph.D.s have visited the region they specialize in at least once since graduate school. However, the proportion of academics (76.5 percent) who have traveled abroad is greater than that of nonacademics (60.4 percent). At the same time, the average number of visits (5.29) made by those nonacademics who have gone abroad is greater than for their academic counterparts (3.75).

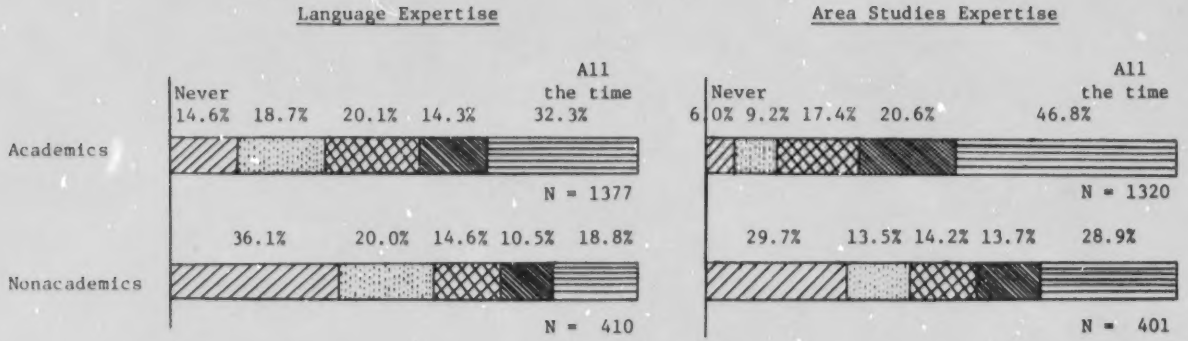

Fig. 2.5—Extent of language and area studies usage by FLAS Ph.D.s on current job

There are some differences across world areas, with East Asia having the greatest proportion (76.9 percent) of specialists traveling abroad and Africa the least (61 percent). On average, Latin American specialists have made significantly more visits (6.08) than those in any other world area. The majority of these visits abroad have been for ten weeks or less, with only about 30 percent of them continuing for six months or longer. There are no significant differences across world areas in the number of longer visits by FLAS Ph.D.s. Economists and sociologists have made the greatest number of trips abroad, taking significantly more than their colleagues in the other humanities, linguistics, history, area studies, anthropology, and language and literature.

In addition to collecting information about respondents' professional activities, we also asked them to rate their current jobs on several dimensions. When we compare academics and nonacademics on these variables, several important patterns emerge (Fig. 2.6). There is a significant difference between academics and nonacademics on the extent to which their current job affords them an opportunity to use their graduate training, with nonacademics almost six times as likely to rate their current job as poor on this dimension. On the other hand, there are virtually no differences between the two groups on the extent of intellectual stimulation and development that their jobs provide. A greater proportion of nonacademics than academics, however, rate their jobs as excellent on the opportunity it provides to work on issues of current social and political importance and to learn new skills. Finally, the two groups report about equal overall satisfaction with their jobs.[30]

Despite significant differences, then, in the extent to which they can use their graduate training, academics and nonacademics are about equally satisfied with their jobs. Some respondents expressed bitterness about being trained for jobs that do not exist. However, most have been able to adjust to these changed circumstances; find personally rewarding jobs; and, as the next section indicates, view their graduate education very positively. The issue, then, is not one of personal frustration so much as one of underutilized expertise by the country's economic and political institutions. Or, as a Soviet specialist and one in Middle Eastern studies noted somewhat regretfully:

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[30]The job satisfaction rating and assessment of opportunities to use their graduate training made by FLAS Ph.D.s employed in nonacademic jobs are very similar to those reported by a sample of humanities Ph.D.s employed in the public sector. See Lewis Solomon et al., *Underemployed PhDs*, Lexington Books, Lexington, Massachusetts, 1981, pp. 120-121.

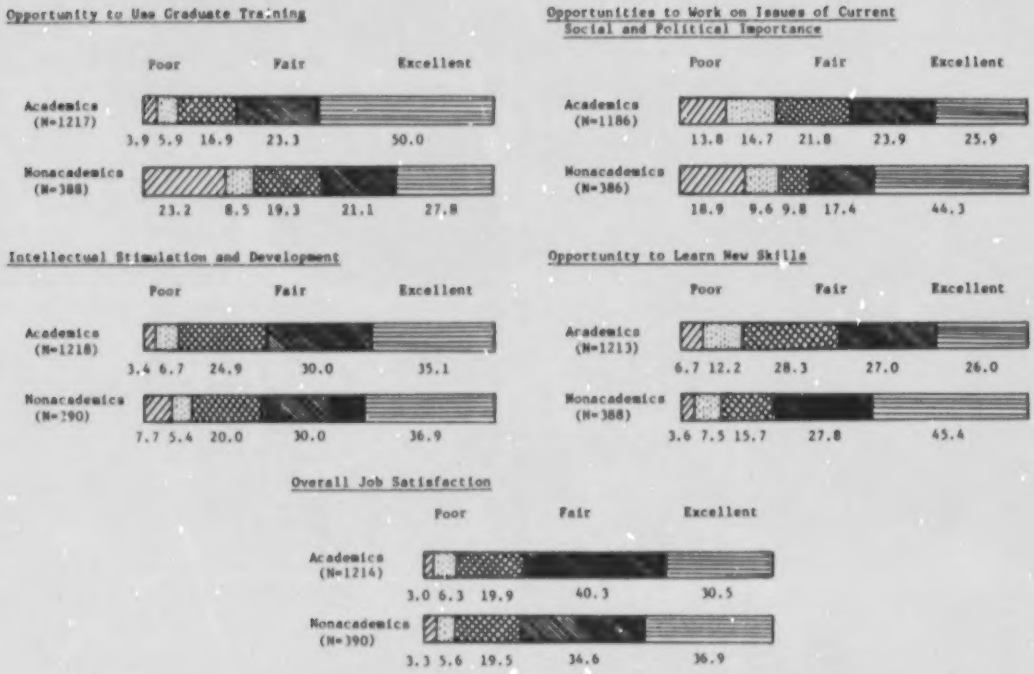

Fig. 2.6—Rating of current job by academic and nonacademic FLAS Ph.D.s

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> I am glad I finished the degree. Having a Ph.D. has a certain cachet; having half a Ph.D. is totally worthless. My intellectual development was enormously enhanced—but at a cost to Brown University, the government, the Ford Foundation and IREX of approximately $40,000. What a terrible waste in the national economy!
>
> Great to have had it [graduate training in language and area studies]; pity I can't use it to benefit my fellows, state, and nation. My business interests now exceed the value I could accumulate after a lifetime in academia. Perhaps my children can use this small comfort to pursue their abilities in professions of their choice. . . .

HOW FLAS PH.D.s ASSESS THEIR GRADUATE TRAINING

Respondents were asked to assess the amount and quality of their training in a number of subject areas and, in particular, the effectiveness of various approaches used in their graduate language training.[31] They were also asked several open-ended questions that allowed them to comment more extensively on various aspects of their training and to recommend ways of improving graduate training in foreign language and area studies.[32]

On the whole, FLAS Ph.D.s view their graduate education very positively. Over half of those who commented on their training rated it in that way, often calling their education "excellent," "rigorous," or "thorough." The comments of a 1971 Ph.D. with a Soviet/East European specialization is representative of the majority who view their graduate training very favorably:

> My graduate work was excellent in quality. . . . I have been most privileged to have studied with those instructors who taught me so well. They instilled me with a sustaining faith in the importance of reason and dispassionate analysis, coupled with moral commitment to some set of principles.

An East Asian specialist expressed this same sentiment more succinctly, but no less positively:

> My training was outstanding! I could not have received a more generous and thorough education.

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[31]This assessment of graduate language training is presented in Chap. 3 as part of the larger discussion of respondents' language preparation.

[32]The overwhelming majority of respondents took the time to write very extensive and thoughtful answers to the open-ended questions. We are very grateful for the insights these answers provide and have carefully read and coded over 80 percent (N = 1601) of them.

Even many of those whose careers have taken some unexpected turns spoke highly of their graduate training. For example, from a Western European specialist:

> Though my hold on an academic career has suddenly become tenuous, I do not regret one moment of my education. It always encouraged [me] to be curious, and that is a lot.

And from a Soviet specialist:

> At present I'm a broker and entry-level manager in a large securities firm. I make no direct use of my graduate training. Still, I would do it all again, for my graduate work and area studies experiences have given me a perspective on world events and a foundation for day-to-day value judgments that I would never want to relinquish. In other words, from my present vantage point, I can affirm a positive role for area studies graduate education much like that claimed for undergraduate liberal arts programs—it enriches through developing a humanistic perspective.

Those who used the open-ended questions to rate their training negatively account for less than ten percent of the entire sample. In addition, their criticisms relate less to the actual quality of their graduate education than to its appropriateness. Most were variations on a theme expressed by one 1976 Ph.D.:

> Perhaps this is changing, but when I was in grad school, the attitude was that anything other than university teaching was failure. At the same time we were being prepared for a job market that was saturated already. Ten years earlier, mediocrities had their choice of positions and are now securely tenured, keeping out recent Ph.D.s who surpass them in competence. I feel somewhat betrayed by my graduate school advisors. If I had it to do over again, I would stop at the M.A.

A generally positive assessment of graduate training was further reflected in the answers respondents gave to several close-ended questions. When asked about the amount of training they had received in the social sciences, humanities, in foreign languages, in specific historical periods, and in non-area disciplinary courses, the majority of respondents answered that the amount of coursework had been "about right." Over half the sample also rated the quality of these courses as either a "4" or a "5" on a 5-point scale.

There is one exception to this positive evaluation. Almost half the sample felt they had taken too few courses in policy analysis, statistics, and computer science. This same sentiment was voiced in the open-ended answers. In fact, the largest single recommendation that

respondents made for improving the graduate curriculum was to combine the traditional disciplinary and area studies training with courses that prepare students for nonacademic employment or for an applied specialization. Respondents talked of mixing language training and area studies with "more practical courses in statistics, computer processing, or business management." Many stressed the importance of quantitative skills for both academic and nonacademic employment. Although most recommended such courses as a way to improve a student's chances in the labor market, some respondents also view this more applied perspective as a way of enhancing the overall field of area studies. A Southeast Asian specialist was typical of those arguing such a case:

> I think the quality of language and area studies would be dramatically improved, were "applied science" questions (in agriculture, law, public health, business, engineering, etc.) welcome in center grad programs. The national interest would be better served and career opportunities would increase.

In addition to their concern about the lack of applied courses, respondents identified two other areas that they feel need improving despite their otherwise positive assessment of the graduate curriculum in language and area studies. The first is better graduate language training, with at least some of it done in a country where the language is spoken. The second is a more interdisciplinary focus in graduate education. Respondents discussed the importance of discovering how other disciplines view a particular world area and, regardless of one's own discipline, of understanding the history of that area.

These recommendations emerge clearly in the answers to a question that asked what advice respondents would give current graduate students. Here are some representative examples:

> Resist the temptation to take courses that are merely "interesting." They're a waste of time, as a rule. Take at least one-quarter of your courses in new fields (i.e., disciplines or sub-disciplines), especially those you might find most difficult. These will be the most valuable in the long run. If you have basic language proficiency, don't waste time in more *formal* language training (unless you want/need to learn new languages). Instead, seek opportunities for active language use. *Visit the region you are studying*. This is indispensable. Acquire a solid understanding of the history of the region. This is the key to area studies. Don't be too confident that you will end up teaching. Don't over-specialize. Take at least a couple of courses that will give you some background for other possible careers. Keep an open mind.

- A major in political science or economics, with some added combination of "international relations" and even "business management."
- A solid background in the history of the area, especially 19th-20th century.
- A *thorough* training in language(s) of the area, that is, fluent speaking and literacy.
- At least one full year living/learning *in* the language of the area before completing your degree work.
- Set your sights on a nonacademic job in business or government.
- The sine qua non is language.

> I would advise the formulation of academic and non-academic goals as early as possible and would urge the pursuit of an interdisciplinary approach to graduate study combining language and area studies with a theoretical discipline and its requirements, and also the acquisition of a marketable skill such as computer science, which is becoming an essential tool for research in both academic and non-academic pursuits. I would insist that students in language and area studies spend some time in the area using the target languages prior to the time of carrying out their Ph.D. dissertation research. I would make every effort to set up a meaningful program of study and language use in areas that benefit the student and the people s/he is working with. . . .

In making these recommendations and in commenting more generally about their graduate education, many respondents expressed a deep sense of ambivalence. On the one hand, they view their graduate training as a positive, intellectually stimulating experience, but at the same time, criticize it for its inability to prepare them for the kind of jobs (both academic and nonacademic) that they eventually had to take. A 1975 Ph.D. now working in government summarizes this sentiment:

> I feel that I have been very fortunate to have gone in a position in government dealing with important and far-reaching matters of international relations with direct relevance to my area concentration. I truly feel that my job allows me to serve the national interest and directly to compensate the nation for the financial investment it made in me through the NDFL program. Many of my fellow graduate students have not been as fortunate, however, and I attribute this to the overly academic orientation of the otherwise excellent graduate program in which I was enrolled. It is important to train teachers, but it is also quite important to train public servants; somehow this second objective, which is the core of the NDFL idea, must be given greater vitality.

Yet despite these concerns about the appropriateness of their training for today's labor market, the overwhelming majority of FLAS Ph.D.s rate their graduate education highly and value it as a worthwhile experience.

Chapter 3

LANGUAGE TRAINING AND COMPETENCE

Extensive language training is the major factor distinguishing FLAS Ph.D.s from non-area specialists. The FLAS program requires formal language study and specifies extent of prior language competence as one fellowship selection criteria. Yet the quality of foreign language instruction remains a major concern for those who train specialists and for the entire international studies community.[1] University faculty are divided in the importance they accord such training; students express concern about the quality of language instruction;[2] and nonacademic employers report need for higher levels of language competence.[3] Such problems are further exacerbated by the movement toward greater cost-efficiency in universities, thus jeopardizing advanced language classes with their traditionally low enrollments. At the same time, even the severest critics agree that recently graduated area specialists are receiving more and better language training than their older colleagues.

The language training and competence levels of FLAS Ph.D.s demonstrate both the strengths and weaknesses of advanced language training. On the one hand, FLAS Ph.D.s averaged over six years of formal language training and report greater language competence than Lambert's earlier sample of Ph.D.s. Still, they are able to use their most proficient foreign language only with some difficulty, in such complex tasks as teaching a course or conducting fieldwork research.

This chapter examines these issues in greater detail by focusing on three major questions:

- How well-prepared were FLAS Ph.D.s for advanced training in language and area studies when they entered graduate school?

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[1]For a general critique of foreign language training in the United States, see *Strength Through Wisdom, a Critique of U.S. Capability: A Report to the President from the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., November 1979.

[2]McDonnell et al., pp. 71-72.

[3]Sue E. Berryman, Paul F. Langer, John Pincus, and Richard H. Solomon, *Foreign Language and International Studies Specialists: The Marketplace and Public Policy*, The Rand Corporation, R-2501-NEH, September 1979, p. 77.

- How much and what types of language training did they receive while in graduate school?
- According to their own assessments, how linguistically competent are FLAS Ph.D.s and what factors explain differences in their competence levels?

UNDERGRADUATE PREPARATION

Formal Language Training

When we examine the undergraduate language training of FLAS Ph.D.s, some interesting paradoxes emerge. On the one hand, the vast majority received some language training as undergraduates, the group average being more than three years, but most of them did not study a language relevant to the world area in which they would later specialize. Only 40 percent of those who later specialized in a non-Western region took at least some non-Western language courses as undergraduates. For those specializing in areas like Africa, Southeast Asia, or South Asia, not studying a relevant language as an undergraduate was primarily due to a lack of opportunity. However, many specialists whose relevant languages are commonly taught at the undergraduate level also did not study them prior to receiving their B.A.s. For example, less than 60 percent of the Soviet specialists studied Russian or an Eastern European language as undergraduates; less than half the Latin American specialists studied Spanish or Portuguese; and less than 60 percent of the East Asian specialists studied either Chinese or Japanese. This pattern is consistent with the undergraduate area studies training of FLAS Ph.D.s reported in Chap. 2: Although most took some international studies courses as undergraduates, almost half entered graduate school knowing very little about the area in which they chose to specialize.

At least, however, undergraduate language courses familiarized most FLAS Ph.D.s with the general skills that any type of language study requires. In this sense, then, FLAS Ph.D.s entered graduate school with relevant language preparation.

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 profile FLAS undergraduate language study by Ph.D. cohort, world area, and academic discipline. The overall averages for Western and non-Western languages are quite similar: Those who chose to study each type studied a similar number of languages for approximately the same total years of study and years per language. Beyond that, however, there are major differences both between and within the two language categories.

Table 3.1

PROFILE OF UNDERGRADUATE WESTERN LANGUAGE STUDY BY PH.D. COHORT, WORLD AREA, AND DISCIPLINE

Item	Average Number of Languages Studied	Average Years of Study Per Language	Average Total Years of Language Study
Ph.D. Cohort			
1967-70	1.87	2.30	4.05
1971-73	1.82	2.22	3.67
1974-76	1.69	2.16	3.54
1977-79	1.64	2.24	3.41
World Area			
Africa	1.47	2.31	3.20
East Asia	1.46	2.00	2.81
Latin America	1.98	2.41	4.16
Middle East	1.83	2.10	3.66
South Asia	1.44	2.00	2.66
Southeast Asia	1.45	2.06	2.90
USSR/E. Europe	2.11	2.52	5.30
W. Europe	2.55	2.41	4.81
Discipline			
History	1.58	2.09	3.19
Language and literature	2.08	2.51	4.83
Linguistics	2.38	2.28	4.88
Other humanities	1.63	2.14	3.30
Area studies	1.75	2.20	3.70
Anthropology	1.47	2.14	2.85
Economics	1.52	2.18	3.06
Geography	1.55	1.75	2.64
Sociology	1.49	1.98	2.66
Political science	1.52	2.19	2.99
Professional	1.38	2.48	3.04
Other	1.83	2.52	4.00
Total	1.76	2.24	3.67
N=	1368	1361	1769

Three times as many FLAS Ph.D.s studied Western languages as non-Western ones. Although we have no direct evidence about the reasons, we suspect that it is due to differing levels of interest and the limited opportunities for non-Western language study at many of the colleges and universities FLAS Ph.D.s attended as undergraduates.

Table 3.2

PROFILE OF UNDERGRADUATE NON-WESTERN LANGUAGE STUDY BY PH.D. COHORT, WORLD AREA, AND DISCIPLINE

Item	Average Number of Languages Studied	Average Years of Study Per Language	Average Total Years of Language Study
Ph.D. Cohort			
1967-70	1.48	2.34	3.36
1971-73	1.37	2.57	3.43
1974-76	1.54	2.49	3.36
1977-79	1.44	2.39	3.40
World Area			
Africa	1.87	2.14	3.23
East Asia	1.43	2.72	3.81
Latin America	1.41	1.52	2.03
Middle East	1.58	2.60	3.67
South Asia	1.37	2.27	3.02
Southeast Asia	1.21	2.38	2.54
USSR/E. Europe	1.19	1.63	2.15
W. Europe	1.00	1.50	1.50
Discipline			
History	1.39	2.58	3.56
Language and literature	1.55	2.45	3.61
Linguistics	1.77	1.82	2.73
Other humanities	1.25	2.68	3.17
Area studies	1.66	2.48	4.02
Anthropology	1.52	1.95	2.59
Economics	1.00	1.71	2.18
Geography	1.20	1.83	1.93
Sociology	1.40	3.05	3.88
Political science	1.12	2.90	3.27
Professional	1.33	1.50	2.75
Other	1.00	2.50	2.50
Total	1.46	2.45	3.39
N=	451	449	525

As would be expected, linguists, language and literature majors, and area studies majors had more undergraduate language training than economists and geographers.

Although Ph.D. cohorts do not differ in years of non-Western language study, respondents in the earliest cohort had significantly more

years of Western language training and studied more languages as undergraduates than their younger colleagues. In other words, on average, each successive cohort studied fewer Western languages for fewer years. This aspect of the FLAS sample's training reflects a broader trend among all undergraduates, who now take less collegiate language instruction than in the past.[4]

This similarity between FLAS Ph.D.s and the general undergraduate population raises an obvious question: Are FLAS Ph.D.s more likely to engage in undergraduate foreign language study than other students? To answer this question, we compared the frequency of selected languages studied by FLAS recipients with the languages studied by a sample of college students. In a study conducted by the Educational Testing Service (ETS), students were given a list of modern foreign languages and asked to identify all those they had studied while in college.[5] In our survey, FLAS recipients listed all the languages they studied as undergraduates. Since we coded no more than two languages per respondent, the data underestimate the number studied by some respondents. (However, only about 13 percent of the sample listed more than two Western languages and only 2 percent listed more than two non-Western languages.)

Table 3.3 shows the proportion of FLAS respondents who studied a selected set of modern foreign languages in college, as compared with the ETS sample.[6] The FLAS sample studied French and German most

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[4]Reasons for this decline include student demands for "relevance" that led to an elimination of or reduction in undergraduate language requirements, and the lower status of language departments, which makes language programs more vulnerable to budgetary cuts. See Roger Paget, "Graduate Foreign Language and International Studies," in *President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies: Background Papers and Studies*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., November 1979, pp. 123-124.

[5]Barrows, Thomas S., et al., *College Students' Knowledge and Beliefs: A Survey of Global Understanding*, Change Magazine Press, New Rochelle, N.Y., 1981. A survey of global understanding was administered to a nationally representative sample of college students during February and March 1980. A subset of questions pertained to foreign language background, proficiency, and attitudes. Data from three cohort groups were obtained: freshmen at four-year institutions (N = 1060); college seniors (N = 1046); students at two-year institutions. (N = 908).

[6]Although this comparison suggests clear differences between the two groups, it should be interpreted with caution. We are essentially comparing FLAS Ph.D.s, who were undergraduates as long ago as 1962, with a group as much as eighteen years younger. At first glance, this comparison seems entirely inappropriate, particularly because of the decline in undergraduate foreign language study over time. For example, the larger proportion of FLAS Ph.D.s studying a given language might simply be an artifact of the time when they were undergraduates, and not that they later became language and area specialists. However, we found for the FLAS sample that even though the number of languages studied and the period of study decreased over cohorts, the proportion studying a given foreign language did not change significantly. Just as many younger FLAS recipients as older ones studied a foreign language while under-

Table 3.3

PERCENT OF FLAS PH.D.S REPORTING MODERN FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDY IN COLLEGE, FOR SELECTED LANGUAGES

	ETS Sample			
Language	Freshmen (N=1060)	Seniors (N=1046)	2-Year (N=908)	FLAS (N=1949)
French	9.2%	19.7%	15.2%	34.6%
German	4.0	15.8	4.1	24.1
Hebrew	.8	.4	1.0	2.2
Italian	.9	2.4	.7	1.4
Russian	1.2	2.1	2.5	15.9
Spanish	11.0	24.5	16.7	17.5

SOURCE: Barrows et al., App. A, p. 161.
NOTE: Languages are limited to those provided on the ETS questionnaire.

frequently, while the ETS sample studied Spanish more than any other language. The high incidence of Russian study by the FLAS sample, in contrast with the ETS group, reflects the specialized nature of FLAS recipients. Of the 310 respondents listing Russian language study as undergraduates, 66.4 percent later became Soviet and Eastern European specialists. Slightly more than half (54.8 percent) of the seniors in the ETS sample reported college foreign language study. In contrast, 70.6 percent of the FLAS sample studied at least one of these six languages as undergraduates.

Other Undergraduate Preparation

Preparation for graduate language and area studies training can (and ideally, should) include more than just formal language instruction. Particularly important are opportunities to speak a foreign language and learn about other cultures afforded by collegiate study, travel, residence, or work abroad, and by Peace Corps or military service abroad. Respondents were asked whether they had any such

graduates. For this reason, we felt that the comparison could still provide useful, though by no means conclusive, information about the differences between FLAS recipients and other undergraduates.

experience before entering graduate school and if so, whether it was in the world area of their graduate training. Table 3.4 reports these results.

Table 3.4

PERCENT OF ALL RESPONDENTS REPORTING ANY PRIOR EXPERIENCE ABROAD AND PERCENT OF THOSE WITH EXPERIENCE ABROAD IN WORLD AREA OF PH.D. TRAINING

Foreign Experience	Total N	Percent of All Respondents Reporting Experience Abroad Anywhere in the World	Percent of Those Having Experience Abroad who had it in World Area of Ph.D. Training
Collegiate study	1707	30.9	61.7
Summer travel or residence	1760	55.3	59.4
Work	1646	24.6	69.4
Peace Corps service	1553	11.2	93.5
Military service	1577	15.0	50.7
At least one type of experience abroad	1760	70.6	67.7

Slightly over 70 percent of the sample entered graduate school with at least some experience abroad, but less than half had any first-hand exposure to the region in which they later specialized. However, for those who were able to go abroad, the majority went to their relevant world areas. Particularly strong is the relationship between Peace Corps service and later Ph.D. training.

When we compare across Ph.D. cohorts, we find that a larger proportion of the most recent one had overseas collegiate study (37.2 percent), travel abroad (60.3 percent), and Peace Corps service (16.7 percent) than earlier cohorts. The differences between the 1967-70 and the 1977-79 cohorts ranged from about 10 to 15 percent. The reverse trend was observed for military service, with twice as many respondents in the 1967-70 cohort serving (20.9 percent), as compared with the 1977-79 cohort. These opposite trends in frequency of Peace Corps and military service are not surprising. Since the Peace Corps was created in 1961, the increasing participation by respondents probably reflects the natural growth of that organization. Similarly, the decline in military service may be due, in part, to the change from mandatory service to an all-volunteer force in 1973.

Generally, the most recent cohort's experience was also more likely to have occurred in the respondent's world area. The 1977-79 cohort reported more collegiate study, travel, and, particularly, work in their world area specialties. For example, three quarters of the most recent cohort who worked abroad did so in the world area of their Ph.D. training, as compared with only 60 percent in the earliest cohort.

Latin American specialists had relatively more college, travel, and work experience abroad than other area specialists, and over 80 percent was in their world area. As a group, Africanists had fewer experiences abroad than those in other world areas, but substantially more experience in the Peace Corps (28.8 percent). Military service was most frequently reported by East Asianists (21.0 percent) and over 80 percent of them served in Asia. Generally, percent of area-related military service reflects the distribution of U.S. military installations and operations. Thus, respondents in East Asian, Southeast Asian, and Western European studies were more likely to have military service in their world areas because U.S. bases are located there.

Sociologists reported the highest incidence of summer travel and residence abroad (71.4 percent), with almost two-thirds traveling in their relevant world areas. Respondents in language and literature were the most likely to have traveled in their world areas. As for work experience abroad, a greater proportion of sociologists and those with professional majors reported such experience (45.1 percent and 48.3 percent, respectively), and over three quarters of these worked in their relevant world areas. Sociologists and professional majors also reported the highest incidence of Peace Corps service (27.7 percent and 29.6 percent), with all of it in their world areas.

Whereas a greater proportion of respondents in language and literature, sociology, and the professions had at least some experience abroad, fewer of those in geography and history had any. For example, fewer geographers reported collegiate study and travel experience (18.4 percent and 44.9 percent). Travel and work abroad were also less frequently reported by historians (48.7 percent for travel; 17.7 percent for work).

We can only speculate on the reasons for some of these differences. The higher incidence of collegiate study abroad by Ph.D.s in language and literature is expected because the majority of them had similar undergraduate majors. Language majors not only have a greater incentive to pursue study abroad in a language-relevant country, but also more opportunities to do so, as universities often establish special programs for this purpose.

When we look at the sum total of undergraduate preparation, including language study, area studies coursework, and experience abroad, an important pattern emerges. Although older cohorts en-

gaged in more extensive language study, younger Ph.D.s at least partially compensated by spending more time abroad. Since it is universally agreed that exposure to native speakers improves language competence, younger FLAS Ph.D.s may have entered graduate school as well prepared as their older colleagues, despite less formal training.

GRADUATE LANGUAGE TRAINING

Most FLAS Ph.D.s received the bulk of their relevant language training during graduate school. In this section we examine that training and focus on the languages FLAS Ph.D.s studied, the length and type of training they received, and how they view the effectiveness of that training.

Throughout our discussion of graduate preparation we compare, where feasible, our data with Richard Lambert's earlier survey of foreign language and area specialists.[7] Since his were the last systematic data collected on this group, such comparisons may reveal important trends or changes in the graduate language training of area specialists.

Relevant Languages Studied

Table 3.5 lists all languages relevant to a world area and studied by at least 5 percent of the FLAS Ph.D.s in that world area.[8] In most world areas, at least two-thirds of FLAS Ph.D.s studied one or two dominant languages. The distributions for Africa and Southeast Asia differ from this pattern, with only one-half to one-third of the specialists in these areas studying each dominant language.

Overall, FLAS Ph.D.s studied (both formally and informally) an

[7]With minor modifications, we used Lambert's question 12B from the "Inventory of Individual Area Competences" (question 8B in "Language and Area Studies Questionnaire of Previous Graduate Students").

[8]The languages that we categorized as indigenous to each world area are listed under Question 10 in App. B. The issue of which nonindigenous languages should be considered relevant to a particular world area is unresolved among specialists. Therefore, we lacked hard and fast rules for making this determination. For several reasons, however, we decided to include French as a relevant language for Africa. First, scholars conducting national-level research in many African countries need French language competence for interviewing elites and analyzing scholarly and official records. Second, the Africanists in our sample were more likely than their colleagues to name a nonindigenous language as their most proficient one, and French was most often that language. In contrast, a greater proportion of respondents in all other world areas named an indigenous language as their most proficient one.

Table 3.5

Relevant Languages Studied by at Least Five Percent of FLAS Ph.D.s in Each World Area

Area	Language	%
Africa	Swahili	52.2
(N=178)	French	48.9
	Hausa	21.3
	Yoruba	9.0
	Bambara	6.7
	Twi	5.6
East Asia	Chinese	79.2
(N=457)	Japanese	75.5
	Korean	9.6
Latin America	Spanish	97.8
(N=369)	Portuguese	69.6
	Quechua	7.3
Middle East	Arabic	76.9
(N=221)	Hebrew	32.6
	Turkish	30.8
	Persian/Farsi	29.0
	Aramaic	6.3
	Syriac	6.3
South Asia	Hindi-Urdu	75.5
(N=173)	Sanskrit	27.2
	Tamil	16.2
	Bengali	11.6
	Urdu	10.4
	Telugu	8.1
	Marathi	6.9
	Prakrit	5.2
Southeast Asia	Thai	35.6
(N=101)	Indonesian	31.7
	Malay-Indonesian	26.7
	Vietnamese	13.9
	Tagalog	13.9
	Laotian	7.9
	Javanese	6.9
	Burmese	6.9

Table 3.5—Continued

Area	Language	%
USSR/Eastern Europe (N=391)	Russian	95.1
	Polish	33.8
	Serbo-Croatian	26.3
	Slavic, Old Church	21.2
	Czech	15.3
	Bulgarian	11.0
	Ukrainian	7.2
Western Europe (N=42)	French	64.3
	German	59.5
	Swedish	42.9
	Norwegian	33.3
	Icelandic	28.6
	Danish	28.6
	Italian	19.0
	Portuguese	14.3
	Dutch	9.5
	Finnish	7.1

average of 1.99 relevant languages, with Western European specialists studying more relevant languages (3.45) than all their colleagues. Soviet specialists averaged 2.34 languages, which is significantly greater than for those focusing on the Middle East (2.15 languages) or Africa (2.10 languages). These three world areas also differ significantly from the remaining world areas whose specialists studied, on average, fewer than two relevant languages.

Comparing the number of languages studied by FLAS Ph.D.s with those studied by Lambert's Specialist group reveals some important differences. First, FLAS Ph.D.s report more language study than the Specialists. Only 1.4 percent of FLAS respondents report studying no languages, as compared with 18.8 percent of Lambert's Specialists.[9] About one-third of the FLAS group report studying no languages or only one, while two-thirds report two or more. The reverse proportions were found in the Specialist group: Only 35.4 percent claimed skill in two or more languages. These differences are not surprising, given that our sample of area specialists is very select: All received fellowships to support foreign language and area studies training and all earned Ph.D.s. In contrast, only 31 percent of Lambert's nonacademic specialists and 83 percent of the academics have Ph.D.s.

[9]Lambert, p. 56, Table 3.19.

The proportion of FLAS Ph.D.s rating themselves as multilingual or having skill in two or more languages varies across world areas. The incidence of multilingualism ranges from 88.4 percent of Western European specialists to 40.6 percent of Southeast Asian specialists. The proportion of multilinguals in Lambert's Specialist group ranged from 50.7 percent for Latin America to 9.2 percent for Southeast Asia. However, the relative proportions of multilinguals in each world area is consistent across the two samples. If we exclude Western European specialists who were not studied by Lambert, we find that multilingualism was highest for Latin America and lowest for Southeast Asia in both the FLAS and Lambert samples. With one major exception, the rank-ordering of world areas was similar for both samples: Africa ranked second in the FLAS group and sixth in the Lambert study. This discrepancy, however, is simply an artifact of different classification schemes: Unlike Lambert, we included French as a relevant language for African specialists, about half of whom studied that language.

Clearly, these findings about the number of relevant languages studied by specialists in each world area need to be interpreted with care. Rather than reflecting the relative competence of various groups or even the importance that each world area attaches to language study, they represent several other factors that have little to do with the amount of effort that specialists in each world area are willing to devote to language study. For example, some world areas have considerably less linguistic diversity than others, so the need to learn multiple languages is less. Differences also reflect the relative difficulty of learning certain languages and varying levels of opportunity for such training. What is important, however, is that FLAS Ph.D.s in all world areas were trained in more relevant languages than Lambert's older and less select group of specialists.

Amount of Formal Training

FLAS Ph.D.s spent considerable time, 6.63 years on average, in formal language study.[10] Although Ph.D. cohorts do not differ significantly in the time each spent on formal language training, we found expected differences among world areas and disciplines.

Western European specialists reported spending an average 9.34 years on language study, significantly longer than all other groups. Formal training was also significantly longer for East Asian, Middle Eastern, Soviet/East European, and Latin American specialists

[10]Formal training in world-area-relevant languages was reported in academic-year equivalents, with one year of intensive language instruction counted as two.

(range: 7.33 to 6.87 years), as compared with South Asian, African, and Southeast Asian ones (5.33 to 4.14 years).[11]

Disciplinary differences in years of formal training and amount of training per language are consistent with other findings. FLAS Ph.D.s in language and literature averaged significantly more formal training (10.21 years total and 4.81 years per language) than respondents in all other disciplines. Area studies ranked second, with 8.56 years total and 4.33 years per language, a significantly longer period than spent by all other disciplines. As expected, sociologists, economists, geographers, and anthropologists spent the least amount of time in language study, averaging less than 4 years of formal training.

Type of Training

The continuing debate over foreign language instruction focuses not only on how much language study is desirable or necessary, but also on how students should be taught language skills. Beyond their consensus on the importance of language study abroad, experts remain divided about the effectiveness of other instructional methods. To aquire more data on this critical issue, we queried respondents on how they learned the languages that were relevant to their world areas (e.g., as children, through formal study in the United States, formal study abroad, etc.) and on the instructional techniques in their formal language training.

Table 3.6 summarizes the results. A bare majority of FLAS Ph.D.s received formal training in an area where the language is spoken. Although this proportion has remained constant over Ph.D. cohorts, it differs across world areas. A significantly greater proportion of East Asianists studied abroad; significantly fewer African, South Asian, and Southeast Asian specialists reported language study in an indigenous area. These differences reflect varying opportunites for study abroad, but also differences across world areas in length of formal training. Formal study abroad is more likely for those specialists with more years of formal training.[12]

[11]The pattern changes somewhat when we control for the number of languages studied. Overall, respondents engaged in formal study for an average 3.76 years per language. East Asian specialists, with 4.57 years, averaged significantly more training than Latin Americanists (4.07 years), but both studied a language longer than all other groups. Middle Eastern specialists averaged about three and a half years of formal training per language, significantly longer than African specialists (2.62 years). FLAS Ph.D.s in the remaining world areas spent about 3 years of formal training per language.

[12]Ph.D.s in the earlier Lambert survey displayed a different pattern of language training sources for the first language they listed as having studied. More than a third

Table 3.6

PERCENT OF FLAS PH.D.S ACQUIRING LANGUAGE COMPETENCE BY VARIOUS METHODS

World Area	N	Learned as Child	Self-Taught	Formal Study Where Language Spoken	Formal Study in U.S.	Peace Corps
Africa	182	3.8	31.9	38.5	93.4	26.4
East Asia	464	7.3	28.0	65.9	95.9	2.2
Latin America	372	15.9	41.7	50.5	92.5	14.0
Middle East	222	12.2	24.3	56.8	95.9	10.4
South Asia	173	2.9	20.8	41.0	93.6	12.1
Southeast Asia	101	1.0	39.6	34.7	93.1	24.8
USSR/E. Europe	392	16.6	31.1	53.3	96.9	.3
Western Europe	43	23.3	39.5	55.8	90.7	0
Total	1949	10.7	31.4	52.8	94.8	9.2

Other differences across world areas reflect expected patterns. For example, learning the language as a child is more prevalent in world areas where European languages predominate (i.e., Western Europe, USSR/Eastern Europe, and Latin America). A higher incidence in these world areas is likely due to foreign-born respondents and greater opportunites to learn Western languages in elementary and secondary schools.

The importance of the Peace Corps as a language training source for African and Southeast Asian specialists clearly emerges. Although less central for the other world areas where Peace Corps volunteers work, it still served as a language training opportunity for 10 to 14 percent of FLAS Ph.D.s specializing in these areas. In fact, when we look solely at those respondents with Peace Corps service, we find that over three-fourths studied their most proficient foreign language while in the Peace Corps.

Since formal study in the United States remains the dominant form of language instruction for FLAS Ph.D.s in all world areas, it is im-

of them learned the language as a child; almost half were at least partially self-taught; and significantly fewer had formal study in the United States (73.6 percent as compared with almost 95 percent for FLAS Ph.D.s). However, the proportion receiving formal language training abroad (slightly over half) is about the same for the two groups. (Based on a reanalysis of Lambert's data by Sarah Jane Moore, provided in personal correspondence with the authors.)

portant to identify the instructional techniques used as part of this training. Table 3.7 summarizes the components included in our sample's graduate language training.

Except for computer-assisted instruction, all these techniques were included in the graduate language training of most FLAS Ph.D.s. However, the techniques that emphasize speaking as opposed to reading or writing competence were included somewhat less often in programs of study. When we compare the inclusion of various instructional techniques across cohorts, we find no systematic differences—a consistency suggesting that techniques used in graduate language training has changed very little over the past fifteen years.

Table 3.7

PERCENT OF FLAS PH.D.S WHOSE GRADUATE LANGUAGE TRAINING INCLUDED VARIOUS INSTRUCTIONAL TECHNIQUES

Technique	N	%
Grammar instruction	1854	93.6
Practice in translation	1847	91.6
Opportunities to use the language	1828	90.8
Oral-aural drill	1851	86.1
Familiarization with different language usage styles	1823	78.9
Time in a language laboratory	1827	75.8
Computer-assisted instruction	1772	14.2

How FLAS Ph.D.s Assess the Effectiveness of Their Graduate Language Training

During our Phase I fieldwork at Title VI-funded area centers, the majority of faculty respondents agreed that language training has improved over the past ten years because of several factors: a growing realization that spoken proficiency is an important research tool; the development of new materials for more effective teaching; and an acknowledgment by more social scientists that language training is necessary for good disciplinary research, particularly if conducted abroad. However, the students we interviewed were more critical. They complained of too little emphasis on spoken proficiency and a

lack of faculty appreciation for this skill.[13] Other evidence suggests that opportunities for effective language training may have decreased over the past ten years, largely because of budgetary constraints. For example, funding for intensive summer language institutes has seriously declined; several important language training centers abroad have also closed for either financial or political reasons.

We would expect that since the availability of overseas training opportunities and the quality of teaching materials differ by world area, assessments of training effectiveness may also vary across world areas. Similarly, the differing emphasis that various disciplines place on language training might also influence effectiveness judgments.

In order to test these assumptions and find out how FLAS Ph.D.s compare with current students and Title VI center faculty, we asked respondents several questions about language training effectiveness. First, respondents were asked to rate the amount and overall quality of the language courses they took. They were also asked to rate on a 5-point scale (1 = not effective, 5 = very effective) the effectiveness of various instructional techniques used in their training. Finally, respondents commented on their language training in several open-ended questions.

Consistent with the generally positive assessment that FLAS Ph.D.s gave for all graduate coursework, most rated their graduate language courses highly, and 64 percent felt that they had taken "about the right" amount of language courses. This judgment was consistent across cohorts and varied little by discipline or world area. Similarly, over half the sample gave ratings of 4 or 5 to their language courses. Quality assessments varied somewhat by world area and discipline. Africanists and South Asianists rated their training lower than colleagues in other world areas. Similary, language and literature majors gave their language courses higher marks on quality than either economists or anthropologists.

We can get a sense of what mix of training components respondents consider particularly effective when we examine the proportion of FLAS Ph.D.s who rated each approach or instructional technique as "very effective." About 60 percent of those who studied abroad believe that formal study in the country where a language is spoken is very effective in improving language competence. Oral/aural drill and opportunities to use the language were considered very effective by about one-third, as compared with about one-fourth of FLAS respondents having grammar instruction and practice in translation. In contrast, classroom time (18.5 percent), familiarization with different

[13]McDonnell et al., p. 72.

styles of language usage (14.2 percent), and language lab time (10.8 percent) received fewer "very effective" ratings.

For the most part, these results are consistent with Lambert's data on whether language and area specialists would like more or less of these components in their language training.[14] Over 75 percent of the Ph.D.s in his sample desired more opportunities to use the language and to study it in a country where the language is spoken; over 50 percent wanted more oral/aural drill. Fewer program graduates believed they needed more classroom or language lab time. Thus, it appears that language and area specialists generally agree that certain components of language training, particularly opportunities to use the language or to study it abroad, are very effective and, therefore, should be emphasized more.

FLAS Ph.D.s expressed similar sentiments about training effectiveness in responses to open-ended questions. For example, many made the following kinds of recommendations for students interested in pursuing a career in foreign language and area studies:

> You should obtain as much language study as possible in the area where a language is spoken.
>
> You should spend at least a full year of intensive study abroad.
>
> I would suggest that formal language training is not the best way to learn the language. For that I would recommend living and working in the country of the language.
>
> I would advise taking few language courses in the U.S., deferring language study until in the country.

When we examine mean effectiveness ratings for various instructional strategies across world areas, we find some predictable differences. Specialists in the world areas with the most highly developed language instruction (Latin America, East Asia, and Western Europe) tend to rate almost all instructional techniques higher than respondents in other world areas. South and Southeast Asianists, and most particularly Africanists, rate almost all training approaches less effective than their colleagues do. Again, these judgments most likely reflect differing opportunities for training abroad and the developmental stage of teaching materials for particular languages.[15]

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[14]Sarah Jane Moore in personal correspondence with the authors.

[15]Often, fewer teaching materials are available for those uncommonly taught languages that lack a written tradition, encompass multiple dialects, or have only been taught in American universities for the last twenty years or so. Partly as a result of funding from the HEA Title VI research program, at least some materials are now available in most of these languages. However, the lack of a large commercial market and the high cost of such development mean that curriculum materials in, for example,

The only real differences that occur across disciplines are for instructional techniques that stress reading and writing competence (e.g., grammar instruction and translation). Predictably enough, language and literature, linguistics, other humanities, and area studies majors rate these techniques higher than do FLAS Ph.D.s in the professions, sociology, anthropology, and political science.

In sum, FLAS Ph.D.s engaged in fairly extensive language training while in graduate school. Most studied more than one language and slightly over half were able to obtain some language training abroad. Still, respondents felt that more overseas training would have been useful. Although instructional strategies stressing reading competence were slightly more prevalent in graduate language training, most FLAS Ph.D.s were exposed to a variety of approaches. The basic mix of training methods, however, has changed little over the past fifteen years. These findings, while providing an overview of graduate language training for the entire sample, mask some significant differences among world areas and disciplines. Basically, these differences reflect variation in opportunities for language study abroad, the development of effective teaching materials, and emphasis on the importance of language study.

LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

Linguistic competence is an integral part of any area studies specialization and should be included in our profile of FLAS Ph.D.s. However, resource constraints and reliance on a self-administered survey limited our data base to respondents' own assessments of their competence.[16]

Since we could not administer a language skills test, we looked for measures that are precise and tap readily observable language competences. The best ones we found are those developed by ETS for its study of college-level language competence. These measures include four behaviorally based items that reflect "real life" language use situations. Three of them tap speaking ability, and the fourth, listening comprehension.[17] To these four items we added two more that

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some African languages, are far less extensive than for languages like Portuguese, Chinese, or Japanese.

[16]Clearly, assessing the linguistic competence of language and area specialists would be more reliable if standardized national proficiency tests measuring spoken and aural comprehension as well as reading and writing skills could be administered to advanced students. Currently, Richard Lambert and his colleagues are collecting these data on graduates of the overseas language training centers. However, such test results are not available on a widespread basis.

[17]Barrows et al., pp. 90-94.

measure language skills directly relevant to FLAS Ph.D.s: teaching a course in their academic discipline and conducting fieldwork research using the spoken language. Respondents were asked to assess competence in their most proficient foreign language on each of these six measures using a 5-point scale (1 = with great difficulty or not at all, 3 = with some difficulty, and 5 = quite easily). In making these assessments, respondents judged their present skill level and their competence at the conclusion of training. In addition, we included self-ratings of reading, writing, and speaking ability in order to collect data comparable to Lambert's. Again, respondents were asked to rate themselves on a 5-point scale (1 = not at all, 3 = with difficulty, and 5 = easily). These ratings were collected for all of a respondent's relevant languages.

Despite some limitations, such self-assessments provide serviceable information about the linguistic competence of FLAS Ph.D.s. In this section, we use these measures to compare respondents across cohorts, world areas, and disciplines, and also with respondents in Lambert's sample. We also develop a multivariate model to explain differences in linguistic competence.

Competence in Most Proficient Foreign Language (MPFL)[18]

In assessing respondents' linguistic competence, we first checked to see whether their most proficient languages were indigenous to their world area specializations. Over 93 percent of the respondents with an East Asian, Latin American, or Western European focus reported a relevant world area language as their most proficient one. Proportions were lower, but still within an acceptable range, for South Asia (81.6 percent), Southeast Asia (81.0 percent), and USSR/Eastern Europe (86.3 percent). However, about 70 percent of the Middle Eastern specialists and fewer than half of the Africanists (44.6 percent) reported an indigenous language as their most proficient one. For all world areas (except Western Europe) the most frequently named non-indigenous language was French. (Respondents naming French varied from 1.6 percent for Latin America to 42.9 percent for Africa.)[19]

Table 3.8 summarizes the average MPFL ratings that respondents gave themselves on each of the six behaviorally based measures. On

[18]Defined as the one modern foreign language, other than English or a respondent's native language, in which the respondent considers himself or herself currently most proficient.

[19]Our subsequent analyses of MPFLs include only those respondents whose MPFL is relevant to their world area specializations.

Table 3.8

MEAN RATINGS OF MOST PROFICIENT LANGUAGE COMPETENCE BY FLAS PH.D.S AFTER TRAINING AND NOW

How well could you use the language to	N	After Training	Now	t-Value
Teach a course in your academic discipline	1585	2.96	3.27	.968*
Conduct fieldwork research using the spoken language	1581	3.75	3.90	4.70*
In face to face conversation, understand a native speaker who is speaking slowly and carefully	1584	4.22	4.25	1.11
Give simple biographical information about yourself	1585	4.46	4.42	-1.55
State and support with examples and reasons a position on a controversial topic	1585	3.33	3.52	5.25*
Describe the role played by Congress in the U.S. government system	1575	3.27	3.47	5.74*

*t-test for differences between correlated pairs of means, significant at $p \leq .001$, two tailed.

four of the six items, FLAS Ph.D.s rated their current proficiency significantly higher than it was at the end of formal training. Their ability to understand a native speaker and give simple biographical information has not improved over time. Since end-of-training scores on these items were already very high, this finding is not surprising. Respondents simply had little room for improvement. FLAS Ph.D.s feel that their proficiency has increased in those situations that are more central to their profession, such as teaching a course, conducting research, or discussing various topics. Although their average ratings have increased over time, FLAS Ph.D.s still report that they can perform in those situations most relevant to their careers only "with some difficulty."

For the most part, MPFL competence both now and at the completion of training does not differ by cohort, but there are significant differences among world areas. Latin American, Western European, and Soviet/Eastern European specialists have significantly higher scores than those focusing on Africa or South Asia.[20] FLAS Ph.D.s specializing in East Asia, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia consistently rated their proficiency somewhere between these two end-points. For example, Latin American and Western European specialists rated their current ability to teach a discipline-related course in their most proficient language at 4.13 and 3.92, respectively, while South Asian specialists' proficiency level was only 2.12.

FLAS Ph.D.s in language and literature rated themselves significantly higher than did colleagues in all other disciplines on ten out of twelve items (six items in each of two time periods). Consistently lower competence assessments were given by professional majors, geographers, and economists. Their scores averaged from about one and a half to two points lower than respondents in language and literature. These differences are consistent with previously reported variations in training and in disciplinary norms about the importance of language study.

Comparing FLAS Ph.D.s With Those in Lambert's Sample

In addition to asking respondents to rate their language skills on specific behavioral indicators, we also asked them to rate themselves on their overall reading, speaking, and writing abilities. This question allowed us to compare FLAS Ph.D.s with the Ph.D.s in Lambert's sample.[21]

Table 3.9 summarizes the differences between these two groups. For each skill, FLAS Ph.D.s rate themselves more linguistically competent than did their older colleagues. These differences are significant and indicate that, consistent with increases in the amount of graduate language training, language competence has significantly improved over time. A second finding applies to both groups: Respondents rate

[20]This was true for Africa on every item, and for South Asia on 9 out of 12 items.

[21]In order to make our respondents' scores comparable with those in Lambert's sample, we recoded the data from our 5-point scale to coincide with Lambert's 3-point scale. To transform the data, we assigned the values and skill levels used by Lambert: 1 = 1 (not at all); 2 or 3 = 3 (with difficulty); and 4 or 5 = 3 (easily).

Table 3.9

MEAN LANGUAGE COMPETENCE SCORES OF FLAS PH.D.S FOR READING, SPEAKING, AND WRITING

	FLAS Ph.D.s	Lambert Ph.D.s[a]
Reading	2.63	2.46
Speaking	2.42	2.11
Writing	2.21	2.05[b]

NOTE: Maximum possible score is 3.

[a] Lambert data provided by Sarah Jane Moore.

[b] The difference in mean competence scores between FLAS Ph.D.s and those in Lambert's sample is significant ($p \leq 0.01$) for each skill level.

their reading skills significantly higher than either their speaking or writing skills. This finding is also consistent with the greater emphasis on teaching strategies that stress reading competence. In comparing these two groups of Ph.D.s, then, we find that although language competence has improved over time, the gap between reading and speaking abilities remains.

Explaining Differences in Language Proficiency

The discussion thus far indicates that language proficiency varies by world area and academic discipline. Given faculty and student evaluations of various training strategies, we can also hypothesize that proficiency levels will depend on the type and amount of training students receive. To test this assumption and assess the independent effect of several different factors, we specified a multivariate model. This model allows us to answer questions about those factors most likely to influence the language competence of FLAS Ph.D.s. For example, we know that respondents in some world areas have lower skill levels than their colleagues. However, we also need to know whether this relationship persists if FLAS Ph.D.s in different world areas receive the same type of training for an equal length of time. In other words, can training strategies be adjusted to diminish the effect of more difficult languages or less-developed teaching materials?

Table 3.10 shows the factors found to be significant in predicting a respondent's language competence at the end of formal study. The proportion of variance explained by this model is relatively low because we lacked data on several important individual-level measures, such as linguistic aptitude and course grades. Still, the model provides some insight into language training.

We selected Africa as the referent world area category because our correlational analysis indicated that the proficiency of Africanists was among the lowest for all world areas. However, when we control for other factors, we find that only Latin American, Southeast Asian, and Soviet specialists are likely to have reported significantly greater language competence than Africanists. Consistent with the correlational results, we also found that only language and literature majors are likely to have reported significantly higher competence scores than historians.

The independent effects of various training strategies are consistent with conventional wisdom about the most effective ways to learn a foreign language. Clearly, years of formal study and the amount of graduate coursework devoted to language study, regardless of the training methods used, are significant predictors of competence. But certain methods, namely, learning the language as a child, formal study abroad, and Peace Corps service, are likely to increase language competence even more. In other words, the sheer amount of training is important, but will be even more effective if it includes opportunities for direct interaction with native speakers and first-hand exposure to countries where the language is spoken. This notion is also supported by the finding that undergraduate preparation—number of language and areas studies courses and relevant experience abroad—significantly influences end-of-training proficiency.

These findings suggest that even though high levels of language competence are more difficult to achieve for students in some world areas, training strategies can significantly mitigate these differences. The data support the argument that students should have greater opportunities for language study abroad. At the same time, the data suggest that universities can increase the language competence of the FLAS Ph.D.s they train by requiring a longer period of graduate language study and more extensive undergraduate preparation.[22]

[22]Respondents were also asked to rate their current level of language competence on the same set of behavioral indicators. However, we were unable to specify a model that adequately explains variation in either increases or attrition of language competence between the end of formal study and now. The major reason for our inability to specify such a model is most likely the lack of change in language competence over time. Although over one-third of the sample reported some attrition in language skills since graduate school, these differences were not large enough to produce much variation on the dependent variable.

Table 3.10

Factors Affecting Competence in Most Proficient Foreign Language at Conclusion of Study

Item	Standardized Regression Coefficient
World area[a]	
East Asia	-.03
Latin America	.21**
Middle East	-.02
South Asia	.01
Southeast Asia	.06*
USSR/Eastern Europe	.09*
Western Europe	.01
Academic discipline	
Language and literature	.15**
Linguistics	.01
Other humanities	.02
Area studies	.02
Anthropology	.03
Economics	-.03
Geography	-.02
Sociology	-.04
Political science	.03
Professional	-.01
Other	-.01
How competence acquired	
Learned as a child	.12**
Self-taught	-.00
Formal study where language spoken	.15**
Formal study in U.S.	-.02
Peace Corps	.05*
Proportion of graduate coursework in language study	.06*
Years of formal study	.20**
Extent of undergraduate preparation[b]	.09**
Whether received Ph.D. from one of 14 institutions producing the most Ph.D.s	.02
R^2 = .25	
N = 1495	

See following page for footnotes.

Table 3.10—Continued

NOTES: Language competence at conclusion of study is a 25-point index that combines a respondent's self-rating on the first five language proficiency indicators listed in Table 3.8.

Cronbach's alpha with a cut-off of 0.6 was used to assess reliability of these ratings. We eliminated the "describe Congress" item because it was the only item that required the respondent to have specific knowledge about a single topic. Indeed, some respondents commented that they could not answer this question in English, let alone in a foreign language. Furthermore, political scientists rated themselves somewhat higher on the "describe Congress" item than they did on other items. This suggests that the item was biased toward those respondents having specific knowledge about the topic. By eliminating it, the reliability coefficient rose from .55 to .90.

[a]World area and academic discipline are dummy variables with Africa and history as referents.

[b]Extent of undergraduate preparation is an index, with a respondent's total score summed according to the following criteria: Took 3 or more world area courses in any region of the world (1 point); took 3 or more world area courses in the same world area as Ph.D. training (1 point); took 1 year of any Western language(s) (1 point); took 2 to 3 years of any Western language (2 points); took 4 or more years of any Western language (3 points); took 1 year of any non-Western language(s) (1 point); took 2 to 3 years of any non-Western language (2 points); took 4 or more years of any non-Western language (3 points); did any of the following prior to beginning graduate training (1 point each)--collegiate study abroad, summer travel or residence abroad, work abroad, Peace Corps service, military service abroad; did them in the world area of graduate training (2 points each).

Scores on this index could range from 0 to 23 points. Thirty respondents received zero; the highest score was 19 points. Over half of the sample (56.5 percent) scored from 1 to 6 points. ($\bar{X}$ = 6.36, s.d. = 3.31, median = 5.85.)

*Significant at the .05 level.

**Significant at the .01 level.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This examination of language training and resulting competence levels suggests a mixed picture. FLAS Ph.D.s enter graduate school with more language training than the average undergraduate. The majority of them also have some prior experience abroad and the proportion of those with first-hand exposure to their area of later specialization is increasing. At the same time, however, undergraduate study of Western languages is declining even for FLAS Ph.D.s. In addition, only about half the FLAS group entered graduate school

with any prior language training appropriate to the region in which they then specialized.

At the graduate level, the picture is much more positive. FLAS Ph.D.s spent a considerable time in graduate language study. Many studied more than one language and slightly over half the sample were able to obtain some formal language training abroad. Still, these general findings mask significant differences in training opportunities across world areas and disciplines. For example, almost twice as many East Asianists as Southeast Asianists were able to study abroad. However, there is no question that the FLAS sample as a whole received more extensive language training than the older specialists included in Lambert's study.

This increased training is further reflected in higher language competence levels for the FLAS group as compared with their older colleagues. Nevertheless, reported competence levels for such tasks as teaching a course in the respondents' most proficient foreign language probably ought to be higher, given their designation as language specialists. Additionally, the gap between reading and speaking skills continues, despite an overall improvement in linguistic competence.

In sum, the data presented in this chapter suggest that significant strides have been made in the language training of FLAS Ph.D.s, but the need remains for more extensive undergraduate preparation and more comparable training opportunities across world areas.

Chapter 4

EXPLAINING DIFFERENCES IN EMPLOYMENT AND SKILL UTILIZATION

Thus far, we have described the training, employment, and skill utilization levels of FLAS Ph.D.s and indicated what factors are associated with high and low values on each of these variables. In this chapter, we expand our examination of FLAS employment and skill utilization through a series of multivariate analyses that allow us to assess the independent effects of such factors as world area, academic discipline, Ph.D. cohort, and language competence on the employment of FLAS Ph.D.s and on their job-related use of language and area studies skills. For example, we know from the descriptive analysis in Chap. 2 that nonacademic employment is highly correlated with Ph.D. cohort, but we do not know whether that relationship persists once we control for academic discipline and world area.

To answer such questions, we developed three models: One identifies the factors that influence whether an FLAS Ph.D. is currently employed in an academic or a nonacademic job, while the others assess the determinants of on-the-job use of language and area studies, first among academics and then among the nonacademics in our sample. These models essentially test a number of hypotheses formulated during our Phase I fieldwork at 25 Title VI-funded centers and, earlier, during data collection for a report prepared by Rand for the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies.[1]

FACTORS AFFECTING ACADEMIC AND NONACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

Our interviews with center faculty and their graduate students indicated that employment patterns seem to vary by world area and academic discipline. Given that most FLAS graduates plan to teach, our Phase I research led us to hypothesize that Southeast Asian and Soviet/East European specialists would be more likely to take nonacademic jobs than their counterparts with a Latin American or East Asian focus, simply because it seemed that more academic jobs are

[1]Berryman et al.

available in the latter two areas. We assumed that the effect of other world areas would not be significant in determining what type of job a FLAS Ph.D. currently holds. Similarly, our Phase I findings led us to assume that social science majors would be more likely to find academic jobs than their colleagues in the humanities, again because of an apparent shortage of new academic jobs in the humanities. On the other hand, we also realized that some economists and those in professional fields take nonacademic jobs because they prefer to, not because no academic ones are available, and the norms of their discipline do not discourage such work.

A number of other factors were also believed to be important. For example, we assumed that FLAS Ph.D.s with more undergraduate preparation and greater language competence at the conclusion of graduate study would be more likely to obtain academic jobs because they could compete more effectively for them. Similarly, we expected that those who collected dissertation materials in their region of specialization would also be more competitive in the academic labor market.

Although we had no specific information about its effect on the employment of language and area specialists, we included sex in our model because of the continuing policy debate over sex discrimination in higher education employment generally. Given the traditional underrepresentation of women in this sector, we assumed that it would be more difficult for them to obtain academic employment.

Field data from our two earlier studies indicated that graduate institutions differ in the aggressiveness of their placement strategies: Some draw upon a diverse range of employer contacts and work very hard to place their graduates, while others primarily leave students to their own devices. Another institutional variable that clearly affects employment outcomes is the prestige and institutional quality of the university from which a Ph.D. earns his or her degree. Unfortunately, at the time we began analyzing the FLAS Ph.D. data, the most widely accepted ratings of graduate departments were over ten years old and therefore judged to be invalid indicators for our purposes.[2] Also, we know that most of the institutions in our sample are among the best in the country for training language and area specialists, so variation in quality is quite small. Consequently, the only other institutional variable we were able to include is one that distinguishes between the

[2]The last comprehensive rating of graduate programs was published in 1970. See Kenneth D. Rouse and Charles J. Andersen, *A Rating of Graduate Programs*, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., 1970. The National Research Council has since compiled new graduate program ratings, but they were not available at the time we conducted our analysis.

graduates of the fourteen institutions producing the most FLAS Ph.D.s and graduates of the other 86 institutions in our sample.

Ph.D. cohort is the final variable that we included in our model. Given both anecdotal evidence and the bivariate relationships between Ph.D. cohort and employment status, we expected that it would be the most significant factor in explaining the current employment of FLAS Ph.D.s.[3]

Table 4.1 shows the factors found to be significant in predicting whether or not a respondent currently holds an academic job. World area is less important than expected, with East Asianists significantly less likely than Western European specialists to have an academic job and Middle Eastern specialists more likely. Otherwise, world area is not a significant factor.[4] Somewhat surprisingly, we found that humanities majors do not differ significantly from those in the social sciences in their chances for an academic job. Rather, the only significant differences relate to two disciplines, economics and professional fields, where Ph.D.s have a choice about whether to pursue an academic or a nonacademic career. In other words, the fact that economists and professional Ph.D.s are more likely to have a nonacademic job reflects choice, rather than necessity.

The language-related variables—extent of undergraduate preparation, language competence at conclusion of training, and whether or not dissertation research was conducted abroad—are not significant in predicting type of job. Sex was also not significant. As expected, however, Ph.D. cohort and whether respondents attended one of the institutions producing most FLAS Ph.D.s were both significant in predicting whether or not they have an academic job.

Because conditional logit coefficients are difficult to interpret in causal terms, it is useful to map their effects directly by simulating the effect of changes in particular independent variables on the value of the dependent variable.[5] As an example, the predicted probabilities

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[3]There are obviously other factors, particularly ones measuring personal characteristics of individual FLAS Ph.D.s that affect their type of current employment. However, these could not be included in our model because we were unable to collect such detailed data.

[4]We also ran this equation using other world areas as the referent category and found the pattern discussed above to be generally consistent.

[5]The equation for estimating the predicted probability of currently having an academic job is derived from the logit equation:

$$Xb = \text{logit} = bo + x_1b_1 + \ldots + 1_kb_k$$

$$P = \frac{\exp(xb)}{1 + \exp(xb)}$$

where P = the probability of having an academic job, x = the value of an independent variable, and b = the logit coefficient.

Table 4.1

Factors Affecting Academic vs. Nonacademic Employment by FLAS Ph.D.s

Item	Conditional Logit Coefficient[a]
World Area[b]	
Africa	-1.26
East Asia	-1.48*
Latin America	-.73
Middle East	1.56*
South Asia	-1.51
Southeast Asia	-1.53
USSR/Eastern Europe	-1.39
Academic Discipline	
Language and literature	.30
Linguistics	.29
Other humanities	1.96
Area studies	.10
Anthropology	.31
Economics	-.74*
Geography	.00
Sociology	.54
Political science	.01
Professional	-1.69**
Other	.37
Extent of undergraduate preparation[c]	-.03
Language competence at conclusion of study[d]	-.01
Whether received Ph.D. from one of 14 institutions producing the most Ph.D.s	.57**
Ph.D. cohort	-.36**
Whether conducted dissertation research abroad	.29
Effectiveness of job placement assistance received[e]	.21**
Sex	-.11
Intercept	2.49**
Percent correctly predicted = 78.0	
N = 1220	

[a]Because the dependent variable in this model is a dummy (0,1) variable, logit analysis was used. The coefficients are interpretable as the increase in the logarithm of the probability of currently having an academic job attributable to a specific independent variable, when entered in an equation with *all* other independent variables.

[b]World area and academic discipline are dummy variables, with Western Europe and history the referent categories.

[c]Extent of undergraduate preparation is a 23-point index that combines measures of undergraduate language and area studies training and a respondent's relevant overseas experience before entering graduate school. It is discussed at length in Chap. 3.

[d]Language competence at conclusion of study is a 25-point index that combines a respondent's self-ratings on five behavioral indicators of language competence. It is also discussed in Chap. 3.

[e]Effectiveness of job placement assistance is a 5-point index that measures a respondent's assessment of the assistance provided by the person primarily responsible for helping the respondent find a job after completion of his or her Ph.D. Respondents who received no help in finding a job were assigned a 0 on this index.

*Significant at the .05 level.

**Significant at the .01 level.

of having an academic job are listed below for a male Western European historian with average undergraduate preparation and language competence, average placement assistance, and after having conducted dissertation research abroad:

Ph.D. cohort from one of the 14 large schools	Predicted Probability
1967-70	.96
1971-73	.94
1974-76	.91
1977-79	.89
1977-79 Ph.D. cohort from one of the 86 schools producing fewer FLAS Ph.D.s	.82

We can identify the impact of effective placement assistance by increasing the value of that variable from its mean sample value to 4 out of a maximum 5 points. The predicted probabilities for the same Western European historian in the 1977-79 Ph.D. cohort would then be 0.91 and 0.85 for one of the 14 large schools and one of the 86 smaller schools, respectively.

Several general findings emerge from this analysis. First, and perhaps most important, the probability of FLAS Ph.D.s having an academic job is still very high, even when Ph.D. cohort, type of institution, and amount of placement assistance are set at their least favorable values. Those FLAS recipients who want academic jobs have a strong probability of finding them even if they earned their Ph.D.s recently, graduated from an institution producing few FLAS Ph.D.s, and received little placement assistance. Despite a steady decline in the probability of having an academic job, then, most FLAS Ph.D.s are still able to find such jobs.

Second, contrary to anecdotal evidence, a FLAS Ph.D.'s choice of world area and academic discipline does not signficantly alter his or her probabilities of obtaining an academic job. Finally, although some personal characteristics that we were unable to measure (e.g., personal presence, dissertation topic, etc.) may be important in predicting employment outcomes, the two we did measure—undergraduate preparation and language competence—had no significant effect on the type of job that recipients hold. Undergraduate preparation is likely to affect graduate school admissions and fellowship decisions, and we are assuming that greater language competence increases on-the-job usage of language and area studies skills. But neither these characteristics nor what a respondent chooses to study significantly

influences whether or not he or she obtains an academic job. Rather, the most significant are Ph.D. cohort, a secular phenomenon over which respondents have little control, and the institution from which they received their Ph.D.s. Effective placement assistance is also important and, as the predicted probabilities show, is slightly more important for graduates of smaller institutions than of larger ones.

These last findings have several implications for the Department of Education and individual institutions. Certainly there is no way of determining from our data the independent effect of FLAS funding on the higher probability of academic employment for FLAS recipients at the fourteen institutions receiving the bulk of FLAS fellowships. Clearly, such other factors as student self-selection, differential resource levels, perceived status, and broader placement networks help account for this difference across types of institutions. However, our data at least indicate that FLAS policy is consistent with outcomes that at present maximize language and area studies usage.[6]

Our data also suggest that by improving the effectiveness of their placement strategies, institutions can influence job placement outcomes, at least marginally. This implication is a particularly important one to consider since over one-quarter (29.8 percent) of our sample reported receiving no job placement assistance at all.

In sum, the effect of Ph.D. cohort on employment outcomes cannot be denied. At the same time, those who want an academic position still have a high probability of obtaining one and individual students, the institutions they attend, and the Department of Education can still exert considerable leverage over factors that partially mitigate the secular effect of Ph.D. cohort.

LANGUAGE AND AREA STUDIES USAGE BY ACADEMICS

Because language and area studies usage varies considerably for academics and nonacademics, we developed separate models to predict on-the-job usage for each group.[7] The dependent variable for the

[6]This is not to suggest that academic jobs are generally preferable to nonacademic ones. We do know, however, from the discussion in Chap. 2 that academics are more likely than nonacademics to use their language and area studies training. Hence, we are calling academic placement a more desirable outcome only from the standpoint of skills utilization.

[7]We initially attempted to specify a model that would explain usage for all FLAS Ph.D.s, regardless of where they are employed. However, we found that the most significant factor in explaining variations in usage is whether respondents have an academic job or not. Consequently, we decided that separate models were needed for the two sectors.

academic model is an index that includes respondent ratings of current on-the-job language usage, another measuring area studies usage, and a respondent's average score on the questions that asked academics whether their teaching, research, and other professional activities focus more on their discipline or on their regional specialty. Combining these three variables resulted in a 15-point scale.[8]

As with the previous equation, we assumed that world area, academic discipline, and language competence at the conclusion of study would all affect a respondent's score. We also assumed that university faculty would have more opportunity to use their language and area studies training than their colleagues in four-year colleges, and in turn that four-year-college faculty would use it more than junior college faculty. Similarly, we believed that the presence of an organized language and area studies program in a respondent's world area would increase usage by facilitating greater contacts among faculty specializing in the same region and by providing such resources as travel grants that stimulate the use of skills. Although we did not have strong priors about the direction of its effect, we assumed that academic rank would also influence language and area studies usage.

Table 4.2 shows the independent effect of these variables on language and area studies usage by academics. We found that world area is not significant in explaining variations in usage. When this same equation is run without the world area variables included, neither the percent of explained variation nor the constant changes noticeably. In other words, faculty of equal academic rank, teaching in the same discipline at a similar type of institution, will have the same predicted usage score, regardless of their world area specialization.

On the other hand, all disciplines except area studies and the other humanities are significant in predicting usage, with faculty in all these areas using their training less than historians do. As expected, we found that those teaching in universities use their skills more than those teaching in two- and four-year colleges, and those in four-year colleges use them more than their colleagues in junior colleges. The presence of an area studies program also increases the extent of skills usage. On the other hand, academic rank is inversely correlated with skills usage: Assistant professors use their language and area studies training more than either associate or full professors, and associates use it more than full professors. Although we lack systematic data on the question, we can speculate about why this rela-

[8]We used the same criterion in forming this index as we did for the indices in Chap. 3. Where responses to two or more items were assumed to be tapping a single underlying dimension (e.g., language and area studies usage), they were combined. The test used for assessing the statistical reliability of such combinations was Cronbach's alpha, for which we used a cut-off of 0.6.

Table 4.2

FACTORS AFFECTING LEVEL OF LANGUAGE AND AREA STUDIES USAGE BY ACADEMICS

Item	Standardized Regression Coefficient
World area	
Africa	-.05
East Asia	.04
Latin America	.03
Middle East	-.04
South Asia	-.02
Southeast Asia	-.07
USSR/Eastern Europe	-.07
Academic discipline	
Language and literature	-.08*
Linguistics	-.20**
Other humanities	-.06
Area studies	-.15
Anthropology	-.19**
Economics	-.18**
Geography	-.12**
Sociology	-.21**
Political science	-.15**
Professional	-.09**
Other	-.14**
Type of academic institution	.08**
Academic rank	-.08**
Whether institution has organized language and area studies program	.19**
Language competence at conclusion of study	.07*
R^2 = 0.25	
N = 860	

NOTE: World area and academic discipline are dummy (0,1) variables, with Western Europe and history the referent categories.

*Significant at the .05 level.

**Significant at the .01 level.

tionship exists. Perhaps younger faculty use their skills more because they are closer in time to their training and dissertation research, which often requires constant use of these skills. The pressure on untenured faculty to conduct research and publish in their field may also help account for differences in usage. In addition, senior faculty may, over time, develop new research and teaching interests that take them farther away from their language and area studies training.

To provide a more concrete idea of how each of these factors affects a respondent's skill usage, we can calculate predicted scores for different types of academics. Listed below are examples of predicted scores on the 15-point index of language and area studies usage for various types of academics, and assuming average language competence at conclusion of study:[9]

	Predicted Usage Score[10]
Historian, assistant professor at a university with a language and area studies program	12.80
Historian, assistant professor at a university without a program	11.64
Historian, professor at a university with a program	12.19
Historian, professor at a university without a program	11.04
Historian, professor at a four-year college without a program	10.43
Linguist, assistant professor at a university with a program	10.03
Linguist, professor at a four-year college without a program	7.67
Economist, professor at a four-year college without a program	6.89
Sociologist, professor at a junior college without a program	6.41
Professional field, professor at a university with a program	7.74

This multivariate analysis and the predicted scores derived from it illustrate, once again, the critical relationship between academic discipline and international studies. Just as discipline shapes training patterns, it also influences how much academics then use that training. Not only do FLAS Ph.D.s in disciplines such as history receive more language and area studies training than those in economics and

[9]These scores are based on the same equation as shown in Table 4.2, but with world area deleted. Thus, with only one dummy variable in the equation, the constant represents the predicted score for historians, controlling for all other variables.

[10]The actual mean score for the entire sample is 11.07.

sociology, but once they start teaching, they use their acquired skills more. These differences reflect varying incentive structures that determine not only which professional activities are rewarded by disciplinary colleagues, but also what opportunities a faculty member has to teach specific courses or to work on certain types of research.

Our analysis also points to the relative advantages and disadvantages of language and area specialists teaching in a broad range of institutions. As we mentioned in Chap. 2, because FLAS Ph.D.s are now widely dispersed in all types of colleges and universities, a more diverse group of students currently has the opportunity to take international studies courses. The expectation, then, is that this dispersion of FLAS Ph.D.s will contribute to a better-informed and more cosmopolitan citizenry. On the other hand, our analysis indicates that academics teaching in two- and four-year colleges use their training less than those in universities. If not using this training leads to significant skill attrition, then there is some cost attached to the dispersion of FLAS Ph.D.s.

At the same time, we also found that regardless of the type of institution, the presence of an organized language and area studies program on a campus contributes to greater skill usage by academics. This finding suggests that skill attrition need not occur, even in smaller or lower status colleges, if strong institutional support exists for language and area studies.

LANGUAGE AND AREA STUDIES USAGE BY NONACADEMICS

In identifying the factors affecting language and area studies usage among nonacademics,[11] we assumed that the world area, academic discipline, and language competence at the conclusion of study would help explain skills usage for this group much as they do for academics. We also assumed that just as the type of institution that academics teach in is important in predicting their usage levels, type of employer would also be important for nonacademics. In addition, from the bivariate relationship discussed in Chap. 2, we knew that FLAS Ph.D.s in business use their language and area studies training less than those working in either government or nonprofit organizations. We expected that this relationship would persist even after we controlled for the effect of other factors. Finally, we included a

[11]The dependent variable in the nonacademic model is a 10-point index based on the same respondent ratings of on-the-job language and area studies usage used in the academic model.

variable that indicates whether a respondent's current job requires any type of foreign language skills. Although we expected that this would be a very good predictor of usage, there was some prior evidence to suggest that it might not be. James Ruchti, in his paper for the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, noted that, except for those with a Russian or Slavic specialization, only one out of every three area specialists employed by the federal government is currently using his or her training. The proportion of Soviet specialists using their skills in the study cited by Ruchti is one out of two; for African specialists, it is only one out of six.[12]

As Table 4.3 indicates, almost all the explained variation in language and area studies usage by nonacademics is accounted for by whether or not a job requires foreign language skills. This finding suggests several things. First, at least for FLAS Ph.D.s, being able to find a job that requires language skills is likely to translate into actual on-the-job usage of these skills. FLAS Ph.D.s in such jobs, then, are fortunate: Unlike some of their colleagues, particularly those in government, language requirements are more than pro forma for them. In this sense, FLAS Ph.D.s may differ from a large majority of nonacademic area specialists who (as Ruchti's data indicate) hold jobs with language requirements, but who do not then have the opportunity actually to use these skills.

As with academic usage, world area is not significant in explaining variation among nonacademics. Unlike the academic model, however, neither academic discipline nor language competence at the conclusion of study is significant for nonacademics.

Although less important than the presence of language requirements, type of employer is also significant in explaining skills usage among nonacademics. FLAS Ph.D.s employed by government at all levels and by nonprofit organizations like foundations and interna-

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[12]James R. Ruchti, "The U.S. Government Employment of Foreign Area and International Studies Specialists," *President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies: Background Papers and Studies*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., November 1979, p. 190.

In its report for the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, Rand identified a major factor that explains this skill underutilization by the federal government. Career incentives, particularly in the Departments of State and Defense, encourage generalists at the expense of specialists, thus discouraging long-term area assignments and career commitment to one particular world area and its languages. These agencies generally do not grant their highest career rewards to people who are typed as language or area specialists. Hence, many people who hold jobs in the federal government that require foreign language skills as a condition of their being hired may actually use these skills only at the beginning of their careers and then have little need for them as they move up the career ladder in their respective agencies. Berryman et al., p. xv.

Table 4.3

FACTORS AFFECTING LEVEL OF LANGUAGE AND AREA STUDIES USAGE BY NONACADEMICS

Item	Standardized Regression Coefficient
World Area	
Africa	-.31
East Asia	-.42
Latin America	-.42
Middle East	-.31
South Asia	-.35
Southeast Asia	-.22
USSR/Eastern Europe	-.39
Academic Discipline	
Language and literature	-.02
Linguistics	-.06
Other humanities	.00
Area studies	.03
Anthropology	-.02
Economics	.03
Geography	-.02
Sociology	.09
Political science	.01
Professional	-.02
Other	-.04
Whether employed by government or a nonprofit organization[a]	.10*
Language competence at conclusion of study	-.08
Whether current job requires any foreign language skills	.72**
R^2 = .62	
N = 232	

NOTE: World area and academic discipline are dummy (0,1) variables with Western Europe and history the referent categories.

[a]This is a dummy variable, with those employed by either government or a nonprofit organization assigned a value of 1 and those working for profit-making organizations, a value of 0.

*Significant at the .05 level.

**Significant at the .01 level.

tional agencies use their language and area studies skills more than those working for profit-making organizations. This difference may be due to several factors. First, businesses are more likely to value skills like managerial and financial expertise over language and area studies training.[13] Second, responses to open-ended questions and respondents' use of the "other" employment category indicate that the proportion of FLAS Ph.D.s employed in jobs peripheral to their graduate training is higher in the profit-making sector than in the nonprofit sector. Consequently, the effect we are observing is due both to business's lower demand for such skills and the fact that those FLAS Ph.D.s who cannot find jobs relevant to their training are more likely to be working in the private sector.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite variations in the factors that explain type of employment and skills utilization, one common theme emerges from the analyses presented in this chapter. Individual FLAS Ph.D.s, the institutions at which they train and then work, and the Department of Education all have considerable influence over employment and utilization outcomes. The secular effect of Ph.D. cohort on employment, and the consequent effect on skills usage of not teaching at a university, are real and should not be dismissed. However, student decisions about which school to attend, ED decisions about whom to fund, and institutional decisions about placement strategies and program support have the potential to shape employment and utilization outcomes and to mitigate the impact of these other secular forces. In addition, the effect of world area and academic discipline on employment outcomes is much less than most observers assume. Consequently, students interested in international studies need not feel unduly constrained by the job market in their world area and disciplinary choices. In sum, our data indicate that those involved in training and employing FLAS Ph.D.s have greater control over eventual outcomes than they may have assumed.

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[13]Berryman et al., pp. xii-xiii.

Chapter 5

A PROFILE OF NON-PH.D. FLAS RECIPIENTS

Although the majority of FLAS fellowships are awarded to students expecting to earn a Ph.D., many recipients leave graduate school before completing their doctorate. Almost half these non-Ph.D.s never use their foreign language or area studies expertise in their current jobs, but about a quarter of them use it all the time.

This finding suggests that ensuring a maximum payoff from FLAS fellowship funds requires more than simply targeting such support to those students most likely to complete their doctoral studies. In fact, to the extent that the FLAS program wishes to encourage diverse applications of language and area studies skills, non-Ph.D.s who regularly use their training need to be supported and encouraged. At the same time, the proportion of Ph.D.s who frequently use their training is significantly higher than it is for non-Ph.D.s, regardless of the sector in which they are employed. Therefore, if the FLAS program is to maximize its investment, it needs to target its funds on two different groups: those students who are most likely to earn a Ph.D. and those who choose not to earn one, but who eventually find employment that utilizes their language and area studies training.

Unfortunately, as this chapter indicates, identifying these two groups with any precision is very difficult. Based on those variables which can be measured by a survey, we found that non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients differ very little in their preparation and training from Ph.D. fellowship recipients, and non-Ph.D.s who currently use their skills differ little from peers who never use such skills. However, it appears that as a group, non-Ph.D.s have less commitment to a language and area studies specialization, at least as represented by a Ph.D. Most entered graduate school planning to earn a Ph.D., but today few expect to do so. Similarly, the majority began graduate training either with no specific career objective or with plans to teach, yet only about a quarter of the non-Ph.D. sample are actually teaching now. Although there are marginal differences in the quality of FLAS Ph.D.s and non-Ph.D.s, their receipt of a merit-based FLAS fellowship indicates that quality is probably not a critical factor in distinguishing between the two groups. Rather, our data indicate that non-Ph.D.s were less committed to an advanced degree and hence were more influenced by what they judged to be an unfavorable job

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market for Ph.D.s. Consequently, these students changed their career plans, and most now work in jobs unrelated to the training their FLAS grant supported.

At the same time, about a quarter of the non-Ph.D. respondents who are not employed in academic institutions report using their language or area studies expertise all the time in their current jobs. Although they received basically the same amount and type of training as peers who left the field, they were still able to find jobs that demand relevant language and area studies skills. Given that more and more specialists (even those with Ph.D.s) must now seek employment outside academia, these frequent users are an important group to study. If FLAS fellowship policy and the various training institutions are to maximize the number of available specialists who can actually use their language and area studies expertise, they need to know what personal or job-related attributes distinguish high users of international studies skills from low users, and how those attributes might best be supported during the training process. As part of the profile of non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients, this chapter explores that issue. The chapter's main purpose, however, is to compare non-Ph.D.s with their Ph.D. counterparts on undergraduate preparation, graduate coursework, language training and competence, employment patterns, and skill utilization.[1]

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF NON-PH.D. FLAS RECIPIENTS

One of the most striking differences between non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients and their Ph.D. counterparts is the proportion of women in the two groups. Women constitute less than 25 percent of the Ph.D. sample, but about 40 percent of the non-Ph.D. sample (Table 5.1).[2] We cannot explain with certainty why this discrepancy exists, but several findings suggest that a traditional reason for women dropping out of graduate school—marital or parenting responsibilities—is not a primary one for this sample and that the proportion of women earning advanced degrees is increasing over time. Only 7.9 percent of the sample cited marital or parenting responsibilities as their primary

[1]Because of resource and time constraints, the analysis of non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients is less detailed and complex than that of the Ph.D.s. Hence, only one chapter is devoted to non-Ph.D.s and only descriptive statistics are presented. This less comprehensive analysis of non-Ph.D.s is a function of the research design discussed in Chap. 1 and in no way reflects their importance to foreign language and area studies.

[2]The incidence of women in the non-Ph.D. sample is about what it is in the entire population of FLAS recipients (35.8 percent).

Table 5.1

Demographic Characteristics of Non-Ph.D. FLAS Recipients
(N = 537)

Characteristic	%
Sex	
Male	59.9
Female	40.1
Racial/ethnic group	
White/Caucasian	92.1
Minority group	5.3
Black	1.7
Hispanic	0.3
Asian	3.3
No report	2.7
Age in 1982	
Under 35	36.1
35-39	30.5
40-44	20.9
45-49	7.3
50-54	1.9
55 or over	1.3
No report	1.3
Median age (years)	36.2
M.A. Cohort	
Pre-1970	30.9
1970-1974	28.3
1975-1982	30.5
No M.A.	10.4

NOTE: As discussed in Chap. 1, the non-Ph.D. sample was weighted to correct for the oversampling of smaller institutions and our inability to track an equal proportion of respondents from each fellowship cohort. To avoid any biased estimates that might result from an artificially large weighted number of cases, all weights were divided by a constant so that the weighted number of cases corresponds to the actual sample size. All the analyses reported in this chapter are based on this weighted sample.

reason for not earning a Ph.D., and women were no more likely to give this reason than men. In addition, the proportion of women in the most recent M.A. cohort (44.5 percent) is significantly higher than it is for the earlier two (37 percent). Finally, a fifth of the women in the non-Ph.D. sample are now full-time doctoral students, as compared with only 13.6 percent of the men. This finding is consistent with the increased proportion of women in each successive Ph.D. cohort (discussed in Chap. 2). Women still constitute less than a majority of fellowship recipients and of those with M.A. and Ph.D. degrees, but over time, the gap between men and women with advanced degrees in language and area studies is closing.

Table 5.2 shows the distribution of non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients by world area, academic discipline, and M.A. cohort. Area studies constitutes the largest single category of M.A. majors across all world areas except for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. As with the Ph.D. sample, over half of those with a Soviet specialization majored in the humanities, primarily in language and literature. This distribution has potentially serious implications for the U.S. government's growing need for Soviet specialists trained in the analysis of Soviet society, its economy, and particularly, Soviet foreign policy.[3] (This apparent mismatch between training and national need is discussed in Chap. 6.)

Although 10 percent left graduate school before completing even their Masters' studies (Table 5.1), almost a fifth of the sample earned more than one M.A. Over half (58.8 percent) of these additional degrees are in the professions or economics. When these second degrees are combined with those M.A.s earned singly, we find that 20 percent of the sample have at least one advanced degree in economics or the professions. Lawyers and librarians each constitute about 4 percent of the sample, and M.B.A.s and economists each represent approximately 2 percent.

Non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients obtained their Masters' degrees at 83 different institutions, but the majority of these (61.7 percent) were earned at the same 14 institutions that produced the bulk of FLAS Ph.D.s. However, several other institutions (e.g., the Universities of Hawaii, Pennsylvania, and Texas) produced as many FLAS M.A.s as some of the "Big 14" institutions.

When they entered graduate school, 68.5 percent of the sample expected to earn a Ph.D. At the time of our survey, however, only 33.7

[3]The need for more specialists to assist in government analysis of Soviet policy has received considerable attention in the popular press recently. For example, see Robert B. Cullen, "Wanted: Soviet Scholars," *Newsweek*, October 25, 1982, p. 129, and Anne C. Roark, "Sovietology: Some Signs of Revival," *Los Angeles Times*, December 15, 1982, Pt. I, p. 1.

Table 5.2

NON-PH.D. FLAS RECIPIENTS BY WORLD AREA, ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE, AND M.A. COHORT

Discipline and Cohort	Total, All Fields (N=463)	Africa (N=41)	East Asia (N=110)	Latin America (N=50)	Middle East (N=85)	South/ Southeast Asia (N=71)	USSR/ Eastern Europe (N=106)
Academic discipline[a]							
History	11.0%	12.1%	14.5%	11.0%	11.5%	4.2%	11.3%
Humanities[b]	24.9	21.7	16.9	24.0	9.7	14.1	54.2
Area studies	38.0	27.5	49.7	30.3	48.6	45.1	19.8
Anthropology and sociology	5.7	13.5	1.7	7.6	3.1	16.9	0.4
Political science	9.5	6.7	10.3	5.4	11.6	12.7	7.8
Professional and economics[c]	8.4	18.6	4.7	14.4	13.7	1.4	5.7
Other[d]	2.6	0.0	2.3	7.3	1.8	5.6	0.7
M.A. cohort							
Pre-1970	34.6	20.0	39.0	32.6	39.9	25.7	38.2
1970-1974	31.8	48.7	25.7	35.4	32.5	24.7	34.1
1975-1982	33.6	31.3	35.3	32.0	27.6	49.6	27.7

NOTE: Table includes only respondents who earned M.A. degrees.

[a] Because of the small sample size, several academic disciplines were combined to allow meaningful comparisons.

[b] Includes language and literature, linguistics, religion, and philosophy. About 80 percent of the respondents in this category are language and literature majors.

[c] Includes business administration, agricultural economics, library science, and education.

[d] Includes general social sciences, archaeology, and miscellaneous fields not categorized by respondents.

percent still expected to do so. In other words, more than a third of the sample changed their educational plans after entering graduate school. In addition, over a quarter of those still expecting to earn a Ph.D. now plan to do so in a different discipline from their M.A. Responses to open-ended questions indicate that about half of these students changed to professional fields (e.g., public health, agricultural economics, clinical psychology, environmental planning).

Two-thirds of those not planning to earn a Ph.D. listed either "career interests that did not require a Ph.D." (35.9 percent) or "employment prospects seemed limited or uncertain for Ph.D.s" as the primary reasons for their decision not to continue for a more advanced degree; money problems were cited by only 5 percent. Most of those who entered graduate school planning to earn a Ph.D. and who then changed their minds did so after earning an M.A. However, almost a quarter of the group (23.7 percent) left graduate school after completing all required coursework for a Ph.D., thus making a considerable investment before shifting to other pursuits.

UNDERGRADUATE TRAINING

About 60 percent of the non-Ph.D. sample majored in either history or the humanities as undergraduates. Over two-thirds of them took at least three area courses on some region of the world as part of their undergraduate training and about half the sample took three or more courses on the region in which they would later specialize. There is some difference in the amount of relevant preparation that each M.A. cohort received, with a significantly greater proportion of respondents in the two latest ones taking area studies courses on any world area and on their region of later specialization.

Eighty percent of the sample studied at least one Western language as undergraduates, and 28 percent a non-Western language. Over half the sample studied at least one language relevant to their later world area specialization. This undergraduate language preparation ranged from over 60 percent of the Soviet/East European specialists studying a relevant language to 24.5 percent of the South and Southeast Asian specialists. The proportion of non-Ph.D.s having some exposure to language and area studies as undergraduates is very similar to that of FLAS Ph.D.s. However, the Ph.D.s, on average, had significantly more years of undergraduate language training, with approximately a half year more of Western language study and, for those who studied non-Western languages, about a full year more.

Although non-Ph.D.s had less formal preparation than FLAS Ph.D.s, the proportion with informal exposure to other cultures is about the same for the two groups. Table 5.3 indicates that, like FLAS Ph.D.s, a majority of non-Ph.D. fellowship recipients entered graduate school with some first-hand experience abroad, and most who were able to travel outside the United States visited the region in which they would later specialize. Although there are few differences across academic disciplines in the proportion of respondents with first-hand experience abroad, there are some differences across world areas. Latin Americanists have significantly more travel and work experience abroad than those in other world areas, and Africanists enrolled in the Peace Corps in far greater numbers. In addition, each succeeding M.A. cohort has been able to travel, study, and work abroad in greater proportions than the preceding one.

Table 5.3

PERCENT OF ALL RESPONDENTS REPORTING ANY PRIOR EXPERIENCE ABROAD AND PERCENT OF THOSE WITH EXPERIENCE ABROAD IN WORLD AREA OF M.A. TRAINING

(In percent)

Experience	N	Percent of All Respondents Reporting Experience Abroad Anywhere in the World	Percent of Those Having Experience Abroad Who Had it in World Area of M.A. Training
Collegiate study	471	34.6	59.9
Summer travel or residence	480	52.1	61.4
Work	439	20.7	80.3
Peace Corps service	422	10.6	93.1
Military service	418	10.3	42.9
At least one type of experience abroad	537	69.9	49.5

The undergraduate grade point average (GPA) for the non-Ph.D. sample is 3.4 with 37 percent earning an A – (3.7) or above. According to this one indicator of student quality, then, non-Ph.D.s are comparable to those FLAS recipients who would later earn Ph.D.s.[4] In sum, non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients strongly resemble their Ph.D.

[4]However, there are some significant differences in undergraduate performance among the non-Ph.D.s themselves. Those who entered graduate school planning to earn a Ph.D. had significantly higher GPAs than those who only planned to earn an M.A. Similarly, those who *now* plan to earn a Ph.D. had significantly higher GPAs than those who have since decided not to pursue a doctorate.

counterparts in undergraduate training and performance, and for the most part, the two groups entered graduate school equally prepared.

GRADUATE TRAINING

Non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients were motivated to specialize in a particular world area for much the same reasons as those who earned a doctorate. Although intellectual interest was the primary factor for almost half the sample, over a quarter were motivated by their personal experience in the area (e.g., travel, the Peace Corps). As it was for FLAS Ph.D.s, the Peace Corps served as a powerful force in motivating advanced language and area studies training. Almost 70 percent of non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients who served in the Peace Corps listed that experience as the primary reason for their entering graduate language and area studies.

Table 5.4

INITIAL MOTIVATION FOR WORLD AREA SPECIALIZATION OF NON-PH.D. FLAS RECIPIENTS
(N = 533)

Intellectual interest or curiosity	41.3%
An undergraduate course or teacher	17.4
Travel experience	10.3
Peace Corps service in the area	6.5
Native (or family's native) country/region	6.2
Family lived in the area	3.2
Missionary/religious work abroad	2.6
Military service in the area	2.4
Research in the area	2.4
Contact in U.S. with area nationals	2.1
Other	5.4

On average, non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients spent almost five years officially enrolled in graduate school. When this average is disaggregated by the milestones that students face in their training, we find that non-Ph.D.s spent considerable time meeting these various requirements. For example, it took them an average 4.5 years to complete all requirements for a Master's degree, 6.1 years to complete all Ph.D. coursework, and a total of 7.2 years to reach the point of collecting data or materials for a Ph.D. dissertation. Since most FLAS Ph.D.s

were able to complete their studies after having been enrolled in graduate school for only an average of 5.7 years, it appears that the amount of time officially enrolled in graduate school is an important factor distinguishing Ph.D.s from non-Ph.D.s. Non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients took longer progressing toward their degrees, and that extra time may itself have eventually become an obstacle prompting them to adjust their training plans.

Graduate Financial Aid

On average, non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients received about two years of support from the Title VI program, significantly less than the 2.5 years received by the Ph.D. sample.[5] Respondents also received, on average, an additional 1.3 years of financial aid from one or two other sources.[6] The most common ones were internal university fellowship funds, received by about 25 percent of all respondents, and NDEA Title IV fellowships, awarded to approximately one-fifth of those in the three earliest M.A. cohorts.[7] About half the sample supported part of their training with their own savings or nontraining-related work. Approximately one-third worked as teaching assistants, and a quarter as research assistants.

Twenty-five percent of the non-Ph.D. sample reported that the availability of certain types of financial support affected their choice of a world area or specific country for study. For example, respondents reported selecting Middle Eastern instead of African studies because more support was available for the former. Others reported selecting one country over another within the same region (e.g., Indonesia instead of Thailand) because financial aid was available for the study of one, but not for the other. For most respondents, however, the avail-

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[5]There were no significant differences in length of FLAS support across world area, academic discipline, or M.A. cohorts.

[6]In comparing across world areas, we find that only Latin American and East Asian specialists show any significant differences in the total years of financial aid received. On average, Latin American specialists received support for the shortest period (2.8 years) and East Asianists for the longest period of all world areas (3.7 years). Differences across academic disciplines are more distinct, however: Those in economics and the professions received aid for an average of only 2.5 years; those in area studies and the humanities for about 3.5 years; and anthropologists and sociologists for an average 4.6 years. Other differences among disciplines were not significant. Non-Ph.D. respondents in the most recent M.A. cohort received financial support for a significantly longer period (3.7 years) than those in the earliest cohort (3.2 years).

[7]The NDEA Title IV program was last funded in 1971, so those who received their M.A.s after 1974 were unlikely to have been in graduate school prior to 1971 and, thus, eligible for such a fellowship.

ability of financial support was not a critical factor in their decisions about graduate training.

Graduate Coursework

With one notable exception, non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients resemble their Ph.D. counterparts in the proportion of time spent in various types of coursework and in the distribution of that coursework across world areas and academic disciplines. That exception is the proportion of coursework devoted to language acquisition: Non-Ph.D.s in all world areas and disciplines spent a significantly greater proportion of their coursework in language study than Ph.D.s in the same world area or discipline. However, given that non-Ph.D.s engaged in fewer total years of language study than FLAS Ph.D.s, this difference is probably due to the concentration of language study at the beginning of graduate school and to the fact that non-Ph.D.s average these initial language courses over a smaller total number of courses. (Figures 5.1 and 5.2 compare, by world area and discipline, the proportion of non-Ph.D. graduate coursework spent in language acquisition.)

In comparing academic disciplines according to the proportion of graduate coursework devoted to world area courses *within* a respondent's own major, we find that history and area studies majors spent almost half their time (46 and 44 percent, respectively) on such courses; humanities majors a third of their time; and professional/economics and anthropology/sociology majors, a fifth of their time. This measure of the centrality of area studies to various disciplines is similar for both Ph.D.s and non-Ph.D.s.

About half the non-Ph.D. sample took at least some area studies courses *outside* their academic majors. Middle Eastern specialists spent the greatest proportion of time in such courses (17.2 percent) and East Asian specialists the least (11.9 percent). Those majoring in economics or a professional field were the most interdisciplinary in their training, spending a significantly greater proportion of their time taking area courses outside their academic major than respondents in all other disciplines (23.7 percent as compared with a 13.9 percent average for the entire sample). Even at the M.A. level, then, language and area studies training is not very interdisciplinary in its approach.

As with the Ph.D. sample, only about a quarter of the non-Ph.D.s took any policy analysis, statistics, or computer science courses, and for those who did, only about 11 percent of their coursework was devoted to such subjects. The relatively low priority accorded to these applied subjects has remained fairly constant over time, with no significant differences across cohorts in the proportion of coursework de-

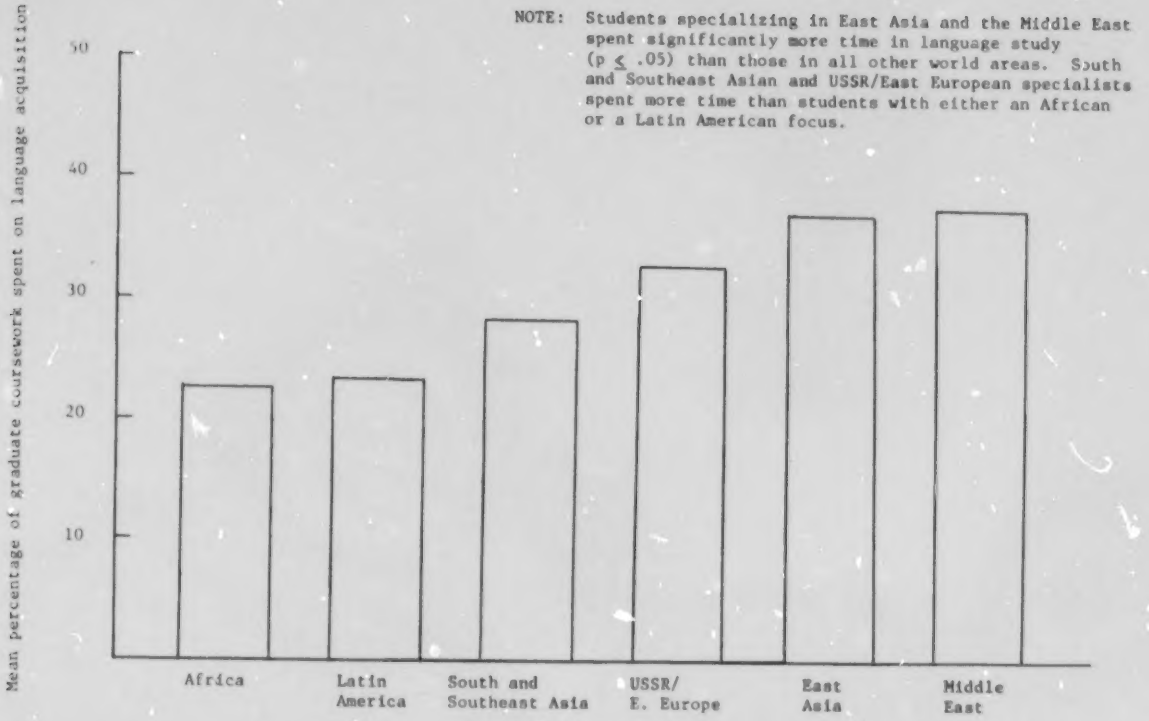
NOTE: Students specializing in East Asia and the Middle East spent significantly more time in language study ($p \leq .05$) than those in all other world areas. South and Southeast Asian and USSR/East European specialists spent more time than students with either an African or a Latin American focus.
Mean percentage of graduate coursework spent on language acquisition
50
40
30
20
10
Africa
Latin America
South and Southeast Asia
USSR/ E. Europe
East Asia
Middle East

Fig. 5.1—Proportion of graduate coursework that non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients devoted to language acquisition, by world area

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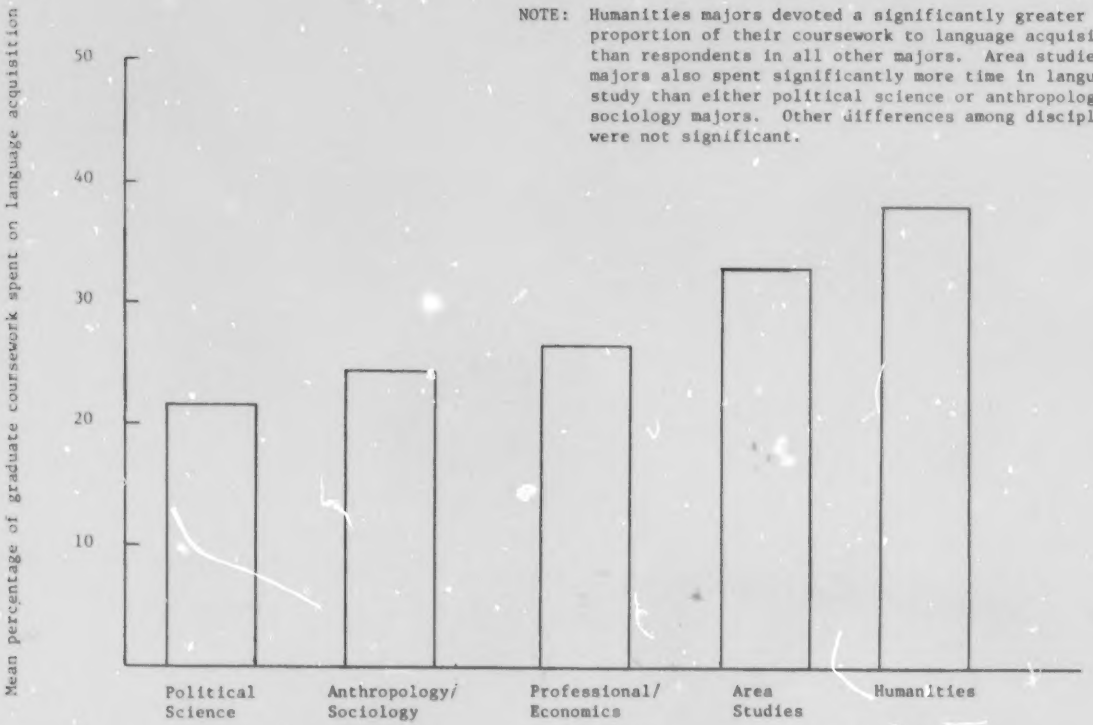
NOTE: Humanities majors devoted a significantly greater proportion of their coursework to language acquisition than respondents in all other majors. Area studies majors also spent significantly more time in language study than either political science or anthropology and sociology majors. Other differences among disciplines were not significant.
Mean percentage of graduate coursework spent on language acquisition
50
40
30
20
10
Political Science
Anthropology/ Sociology
Professional/ Economics
Area Studies
Humanities

Fig. 5.2—Proportion of graduate coursework that non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients devoted to language acquisition, by academic discipline

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voted to them. In sum, non-Ph.D. fellowship recipients closely resemble FLAS Ph.D.s in how they allocated their graduate training. Like those who chose to earn a doctorate, the non-Ph.D.s spent little time in interdisciplinary study and in taking applied courses. Furthermore, the amount of time devoted to area studies courses depended on their choice of an academic discipline and its amenability to area studies.

GRADUATE LANGUAGE TRAINING AND LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

Language Training

The most striking fact about the language training of FLAS non-Ph.D.s is the extent to which it differs in length and breadth from that of FLAS Ph.D.s. Non-Ph.D.s studied significantly fewer languages relevant to their world area specializations, and for a shorter period than their Ph.D. counterparts; still, they spent considerable time in language study. On average, they studied 1.87 relevant languages for a total of 5.75 years. Soviet/East European specialists studied significantly more languages (2.34) than students in all other world areas, with East Asianists studying the fewest languages (1.56). However, East Asianists, together with Soviet and Latin American specialists, spent more *time* in language study than those in all other world areas. African specialists spent the least amount of time (3.64 years) in relevant language study. As with the FLAS Ph.D.s, humanities majors spent more time in language training than those in all other disciplines (an average 7.89 years as compared with a low of 4.34 years for anthropology and sociology majors). Humanities majors also studied significantly more languages than non-Ph.D.s in other disciplines.

Like the Ph.D.s, about one percent of the non-Ph.D.s reported studying no foreign languages. However, only 58.3 percent of the non-Ph.D.s studied two or more languages, a significantly lower proportion than the 63.9 percent of FLAS Ph.D.s who can be classified as multilingual. In addition, a slightly lower proportion of non-Ph.D.s was able to obtain language training in a country where the language is spoken.

As Tables 5.5 and 5.6 indicate, the ways in which non-Ph.D.s obtained their language training, and the instructional techniques used in teaching them, are quite similar to those for Ph.D.s (Tables 3.6 and 3.7). Differences across world areas essentially reflect varying opportunities for different types of training, particularly study abroad.

There is little variation in the distribution of training methods and instructional techniques across M.A. cohorts, suggesting that, as with the Ph.D.s, non-Ph.D.s have received basically the same type of language instruction over the past fifteen years.

Again, like FLAS Ph.D.s, non-Ph.D.s assessed their language training quite favorably. Fully 71 percent of the sample felt that they had taken "about the right amount" of language courses, and close to 60

Table 5.5

PERCENT OF NON-PH.D. FLAS RECIPIENTS WHOSE GRADUATE LANGUAGE TRAINING INCLUDED VARIOUS INSTRUCTIONAL TECHNIQUES

Technique	N	%
Grammar instruction	523	94.5
Practice in translation	523	94.5
Opportunities to use the language	519	90.0
Familiarization with different language usage styles	513	83.0
Time in a language laboratory	511	78.5
Oral-aural drill	521	77.7
Computer-assisted instruction	499	11.0

Table 5.6

PERCENT OF NON-PH.D. FLAS RECIPIENTS ACQUIRING LANGUAGE COMPETENCE BY VARIOUS METHODS

World Area	N	Learned as Child	Self-Taught	Formal Study Where Language Spoken	Formal Study in U.S.	Peace Corps
Africa	52	2.4	28.8	31.7	98.0	23.0
East Asia	131	7.0	21.0	62.7	98.2	1.5
Latin America	60	8.2	40.5	53.4	94.1	6.2
Middle East	93	9.5	28.9	58.7	98.7	14.3
South/Southeast Asia	79	4.2	22.2	38.5	96.5	14.3
USSR/Eastern Europe	114	6.6	22.6	39.8	97.2	0.0
Total	529	6.5	26.1	49.7	97.4	7.9

percent rated the quality of their language courses as either a 4 or a 5 on a 5-point scale. However, their assessments differ sharply among instructional techniques, and indicate the type of language training they found most useful. For example, 60 percent of those who studied abroad found such training very effective, but only one-third rated oral/aural drill, grammar instruction, and opportunities to use the language very effective. Classroom time (22.9 percent), familiarization with different styles of language usage (16.6 percent), and language lab time (11.9 percent) received even fewer "very effective" ratings.

Linguistic Competence

Consistent with their having engaged in fewer years of language study, non-Ph.D.s rated linguistic competence in their most proficient foreign language (MPFL) significantly lower at the end of training than FLAS Ph.D.s did. According to self-ratings on six behaviorally oriented measures, non-Ph.D.s also show significant attrition in language skills over time (Table 5.7). As we will see in the next section, this attrition is not surprising, given the relatively low utilization of language skills in their current jobs. Nevertheless, the skill attrition of non-Ph.D.s contrasts sharply with that of FLAS Ph.D.s, who report increased linguistic competence over time.

Within the non-Ph.D. group, patterns in MPFL competence across world areas, academic disciplines, and M.A. cohorts are very similar to what they are for Ph.D.s. Over 90 percent of the East Asian and Latin American specialists reported an indigenous language as their MPFL. Proportions were considerably lower for the other world areas, with only 82.5 percent of the Soviet specialists, 70.5 percent of the South and Southeast Asian, and 64.5 percent of the Middle Eastern specialists reporting an indigenous language as their MPFL. Africanists had the lowest proportion of specialists with indigenous language competence, 28.6 percent reported such skill with an additional 46.9 percent listing French as their MPFL.

There were no differences across cohorts in MPFL competence at the end of training. On four out of six items, the most recent cohort rated their current competence higher than the earliest cohort did; however, this merely reflects a shorter period since the end of training. Consistent differences in linguistic competence appear across world areas: Latin American, East Asian, and Soviet specialists report higher average competence than those in other world areas, with Latin American specialists having the highest average competence, and Middle Eastern and African specialists the lowest on most items.

Table 5.7

MEAN RATINGS OF MOST PROFICIENT LANGUAGE COMPETENCE BY NON-PH.D. FLAS RECIPIENTS AFTER TRAINING AND NOW

How Competent Are You to:	N	After Training	Now	t-value
Teach a course in your academic discipline	411	2.84	2.74	-1.71
Conduct fieldwork research using the spoken language	411	3.49	3.26	-3.33*
In face to face conversation, understand a native speaker who is speaking slowly and carefully	412	4.20	3.84	-5.80*
Give simple biographical information about yourself	412	4.49	4.02	-8.03*
State and support with examples and reasons a position on a controversial topic	412	3.13	2.9	-3.34*
Describe the role played by Congress in the U.S. government system	412	2.99	2.81	-2.87*

*t-test for differences between correlated pairs of means, significant at $p \leq .001$, two-tailed.

Differences across academic disciplines are less marked. On nine out of twelve items, there are no significant differences; on the other three, those in the humanities report the greatest level of competence. In sum, non-Ph.D.s received essentially the same type of language training as FLAS Ph.D.s in similar world areas and academic disciplines. However, they studied fewer relevant languages and for a shorter period, a difference that is subsequently reflected in their significantly lower levels of linguistic competence.

CAREER PATTERNS AND SKILL UTILIZATION

Employment Status and Salary

Two very clear findings emerge from an examination of non-Ph.D. employment. First, as would be expected, about three quarters (74.3

percent) of the sample hold nonacademic jobs (whereas 75 percent of FLAS Ph.D., have academic jobs). A second, and perhaps more surprising, finding is that a large majority (68.2 percent) of non-Ph.D.s who are employed full-time work outside their field of graduate study. Nevertheless, they work in a wide variety of occupations and find these jobs satisfying, despite the lack of opportunity to use their graduate training.

Table 5.8 summarizes the employment status of non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients. Consistent with this group's longer tenure in graduate school, almost a fifth of those who received FLAS fellowships in the 1970s are still full-time students.[8]

Men and women in the non-Ph.D. sample differ significantly in their employment patterns. Women are almost four times as likely to be employed part-time as men (11.7 percent versus 3.0 percent). Those women who do work full-time earn considerably less than men with full-time employment (Table 5.9). In addition, a quarter of the men employed full-time work in their field of graduate study, while only 15.1 percent of the women do.

Table 5.8

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF NON-PH.D. FLAS RECIPIENTS AS OF OCTOBER 1, 1982

(N = 525)

Status	%
Employed full-time	66.5
In field of graduate study	21.1
In field other than field of graduate study	45.4
Employed part-time	6.5
Not employed	23.0
Seeking employment	3.3
Not seeking employment	1.5
Retired	0.7
Full-time Ph.D. student	16.2
Full-time student, not earning a Ph.D.	1.3
Other	4.0

[8]The unemployment rate for non-Ph.D.s is only slightly lower than that for FLAS Ph.D.s (although the difference is statistically significant). It is also likely that the rate for non-Ph.D.s is artificially depressed because a larger proportion of recent fellowship recipients—those most likely to have trouble finding jobs—are still full-time students and thus are not counted in the pool of people seeking employment.

Table 5.9

MEDIAN 1982-83 ANNUAL SALARY OF NON-PH.D. FLAS RECIPIENTS EMPLOYED FULL-TIME BY SEX, M.A. COHORT, AND TYPE OF EMPLOYER
(In $ thousand)

Item	Salary
Sex	
Male	$30.0
Female	24.0
M.A. Cohort	
Pre-1970	32.1
1970-1974	28.0
1975-1982	23.0
Employer	
Academic	
College and University	20.0
Elementary/Secondary	22.4
Nonacademic	
Business/industry	30.0
Government	34.4
Nonprofit organization	22.1

Sex, however, is not the only dimension along which employment patterns vary. Whether or not a non-Ph.D. is working outside his or her graduate field also varies by world area and academic discipline. Latin American and East Asian specialists are the least likely to work outside their field, although even in these world areas, a majority of those employed full-time do (63 and 57 percent, respectively). Soviet/East European and African specialists are the most likely to work outside their field of graduate study, with three quarters of those employed full-time doing so. Major differences also exist across academic disciplines. Fully 80 percent of the non-Ph.D. historians who are currently employed full-time work outside their field of graduate study. This compares with just over half the political scientists, economists, and professionals who work outside their training fields; other disciplines fall between these two extremes. Despite differences across world areas and academic disciplines, this pattern is quite consistent across M.A. cohorts: The proportion of people working outside their

field of graduate study is not significantly different in the most recent cohort as compared with the previous two.

There are probably two reasons why the link between training and employment is so weak for non-Ph.D.s. First, many entered graduate school with only vague career plans. Those currently employed in the private sector seem to have been the least certain of career intentions; 62 percent of them entered graduate school either expecting to teach or with no specific career objective. On the other hand, 78 percent of those currently holding academic positions expected to end up with such jobs. A majority of the non-Ph.D.s now working in government (57 percent) also entered graduate school expecting to teach or having no career objective. We can only speculate on the consequences of these transitory or nonexistent career goals at the start of training. However, it seems reasonable to assume that because they lacked firm plans, many non-Ph.D.s were less committed to a particular type of job, and were therefore more open to employment outside their field of study if other factors such as salary and location were attractive.

A second reason why non-Ph.D.s work outside their training fields may be the lack of assistance they received in job placement. A majority of the non-Ph.D. sample (54.4 percent) reported that no one helped them find a job after completion of their graduate training. This contrasts with FLAS Ph.D.s, 70 percent of whom received some type of job placement assistance. About 30 percent of the non-Ph.D.s reported that those assisting them wrote individual letters of reference. However, less than 5 percent of the sample reported that those assisting them in job placement made inquiries of potential government employers. Similarly, only 3.5 percent reported such contacts being made on their behalf to private sector employers, and less than 10 percent of the sample had any type of job interviews arranged for them. In other words, students' lack of commitment to capitalizing on their training investment was compounded by universities' inability or unwillingness to help find suitable employment for non-Ph.D. students.

Table 5.10 indicates how diverse are the employers and work activities of non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients. Consistent with their lack of a Ph.D., half of those employed by academic institutions are lecturers, instructors, or assistant professors. About a third of the non-Ph.D.s employed in colleges and universities do not have academic rank and most of these are librarians. Also consistent with their non-doctoral status, 69 percent of the academics who teach, teach only undergraduates. Like FLAS Ph.D.s, over half of the non-Ph.D.s employed in academic institutions work in ones with an organized language and area studies program.

Table 5.10

Current Employers and Primary Work Activities of Employed Non-Ph.D. FLAS Recipients

N = 421

Employer	
Junior/2-year college	3.6%
Four-year college	4.0
University	14.0
Elementary/secondary school	4.0
Private sector financial institution	6.4
Personal service sector (hotel, airlines, etc.)	1.4
Manufacturing firm	6.4
Management consulting firm	2.6
Law firm	3.0
Retail or wholesale sales firm	2.4
Communications (newspaper, television, publishing, etc.)	2.1
Real estate or insurance firm	1.9
Private foundation	0.7
Museum or historical society	1.0
Research library or archives	1.9
Nonprofit organization	7.1
International agency	0.7
U.S. Government	16.4
State or local government	3.8
Self-employed	9.0
Other[a]	7.1

N = 418

Primary work activity	
Teaching	20.8
Basic research	2.4
Applied research	5.5
Report or other technical writing	3.6
Journalistic writing	3.6
Curatorial/librarian	7.2
Management or administration	22.5
Sales or marketing	7.2
Diplomatic corps	4.5
Other[b]	22.7

[a] Includes all respondents employed by nonacademic organizations, who could not place themselves in any of the given categories (e.g., employees of computer firms, clergymen, and planning consultants).

[b] Indicates nonacademic work activities that could not be classified in the specified categories (e.g., farming, computer programming, secretarial, and artistic work).

The approximately three-quarters of the sample who hold nonacademic jobs work for a wide variety of employers and are engaged in an equally wide range of activities. When those who coded themselves as "other" are reclassified, the distribution of nonacademic employers is as follows (N = 330):

Profit-making organizations	53.9%
Nonprofit organizations	15.3
Government—all levels	26.4
Elementary and secondary schools	5.4

Of those employed outside academia, about the same proportion of non-Ph.D.s as Ph.D.s are working in government and teaching in elementary and secondary schools. However, a significantly greater proportion of non-Ph.D.s are working for profit-making organizations.

Unlike FLAS Ph.D.s, the majority of non-Ph.D.s who work outside academia are doing so because they want to, not because they were unable to find academic jobs. Only 30 percent of the non-Ph.D.s reported that given a choice, they would prefer to work at an academic institution. This compares with the over 90 percent of FLAS Ph.D.s holding nonacademic jobs who took their jobs because appropriate academic positions were unavailable. However, lack of interest in an academic job is not equal across M.A. cohorts. Non-Ph.D.s in the most recent cohort are twice as likely as those in the earliest one to prefer an academic job, if given a choice. We cannot identify with any certainty why the employment preferences of M.A. cohorts differ in this way, but there may be several reasons. First, by reason of their seniority, older FLAS recipients may simply have better-paying and more challenging jobs than younger ones, thus making a nonacademic job objectively more appealing in their eyes. Or, older specialists may have had more time to rationalize their career choice and thus feel more content with it. On the other hand, a substantial number of younger non-Ph.D.s, like their Ph.D. counterparts, may have taken nonacademic jobs not because they preferred them, but because the current job market offered no alternative.

Respondents were asked to rate their current jobs on several dimensions. Although the pattern was generally the same for FLAS Ph.D.s and non-Ph.D.s, differences between those working for academic institutions and those not doing so were less for the non-Ph.D.s. As Fig. 5.3 indicates, those non-Ph.D.s employed by private sector firms were about three times as likely as academics to rate their jobs as poor with regard to opportunity to use graduate training. This compares with a differential of about six for the Ph.D.s. Those working in government or for nonprofit organizations were also more likely than academics to

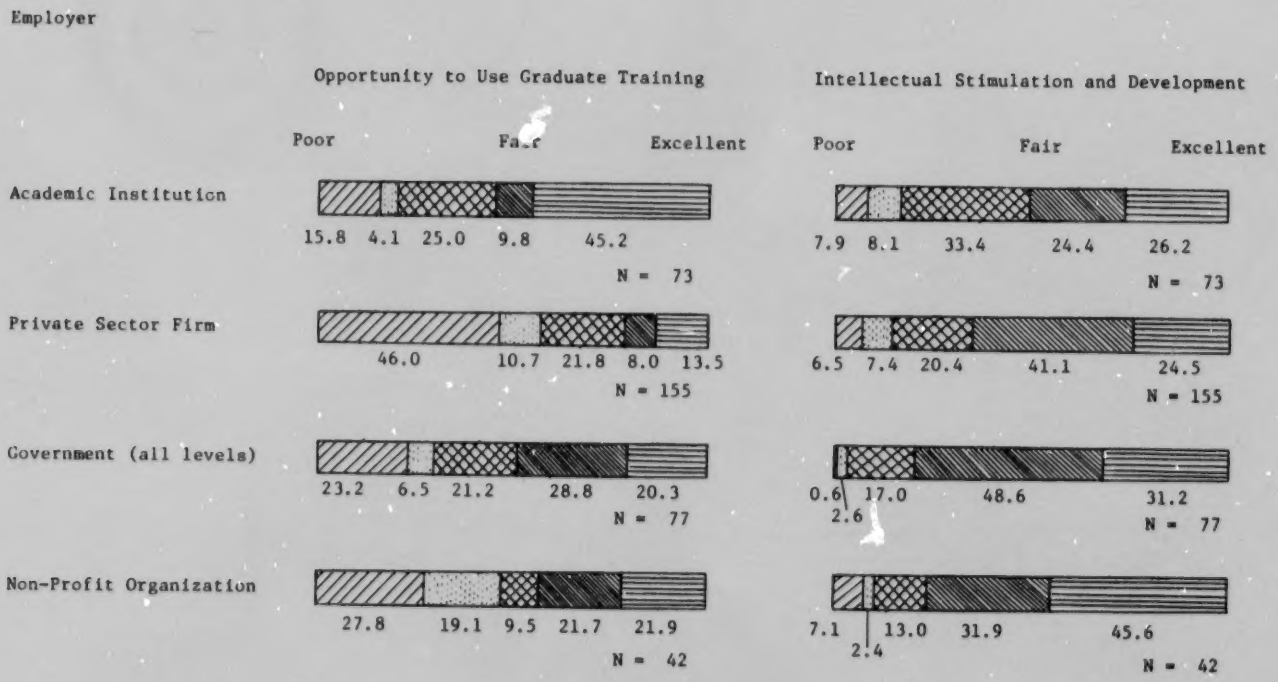

Fig. 5.3—Current job rating by non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients (in percentages)

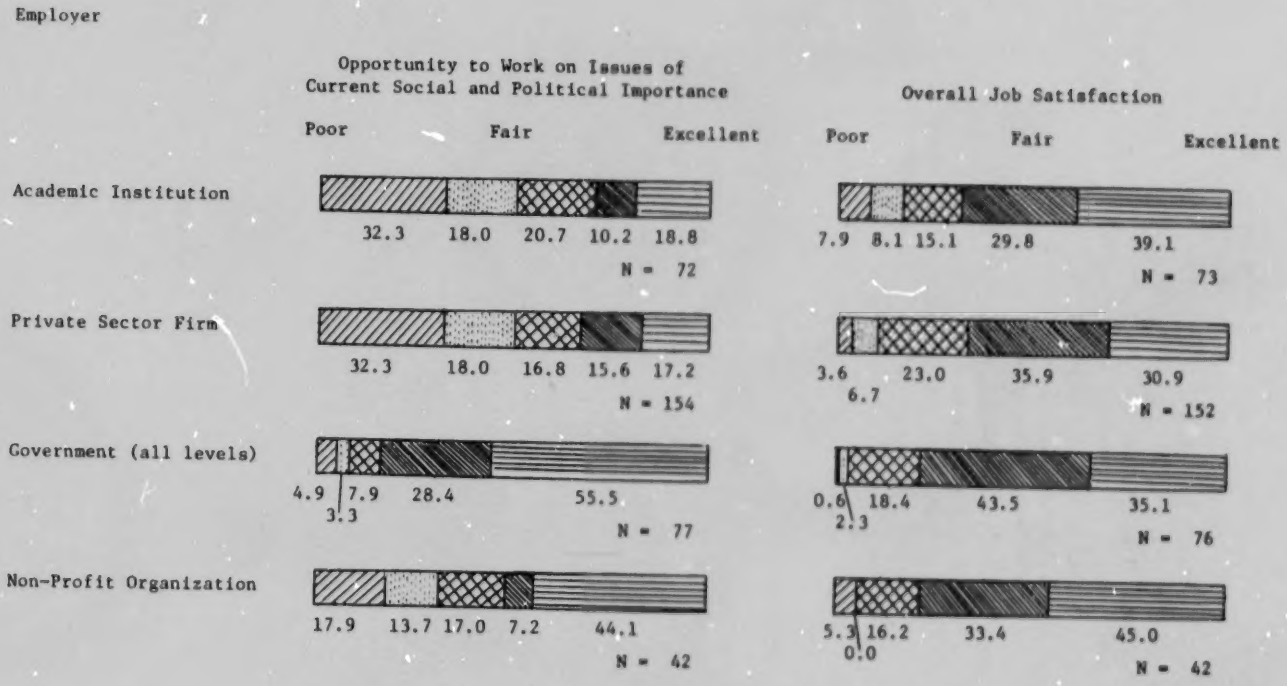

Fig. 5.3—Continued

rate their jobs as poor on this dimension, but at a lower rate than those in the private sector. Almost half of those working for nonprofit organizations rated their job as excellent on its ability to provide intellectual stimulation and development; this compares with about a quarter of those in academia and the private sector, and a third of those in government. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, those working in academia and the private sector give their jobs about equal ratings on the opportunity to work on issues of current social and political importance. Non-Ph.D.s employed by nonprofit organizations report the greatest overall job satisfaction, with academics second, and those in government and the private sector in third place. Despite these differences across sectors in job satisfaction, however, the vast majority of non-Ph.D. respondents in all occupations rated their job satisfaction as either a 4 or a 5 on a 5-point scale.

Skill Utilization

Although the skill utilization patterns are the same for non-Ph.D.s and for Ph.D.s (i.e., a greater proportion of academics than nonacademics use their skills all the time), non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients, both inside and outside academia, use their language and area studies skills less than FLAS counterparts with Ph.D.s. In comparing Fig. 5.4 with Fig. 2.6, we find that the differences between Ph.D.s and non Ph.D.s are significant for both academics and nonacademics: A greater proportion of Ph.D.s use their language and area studies skills all the time than non-Ph.D.s employed in the same sector.

Some significant though small differences exist in the skill utilization patterns of non-Ph.D.s employed outside academia. For example, a significantly greater proportion of those employed by private sector firms use their language expertise all the time, while a greater proportion of those employed by government and nonprofit organizations use their area studies skills all the time. However, the majority of non-Ph.D.s employed outside academia, regardless of their specific employer, never or rarely use their language and area studies training in their current job.

Slightly more than one-third of the non-Ph.D.s employed outside academia work in organizations having no other employees with similar language and area studies skills. On the other hand, about 10 percent work in organizations employing 10 or more people with similar skills. Approximately one-third of the nonacademics are employed in jobs that require at least some type of language skill (i.e., reading, writing, or speaking) and 13.6 percent work in jobs that require all three language skills.

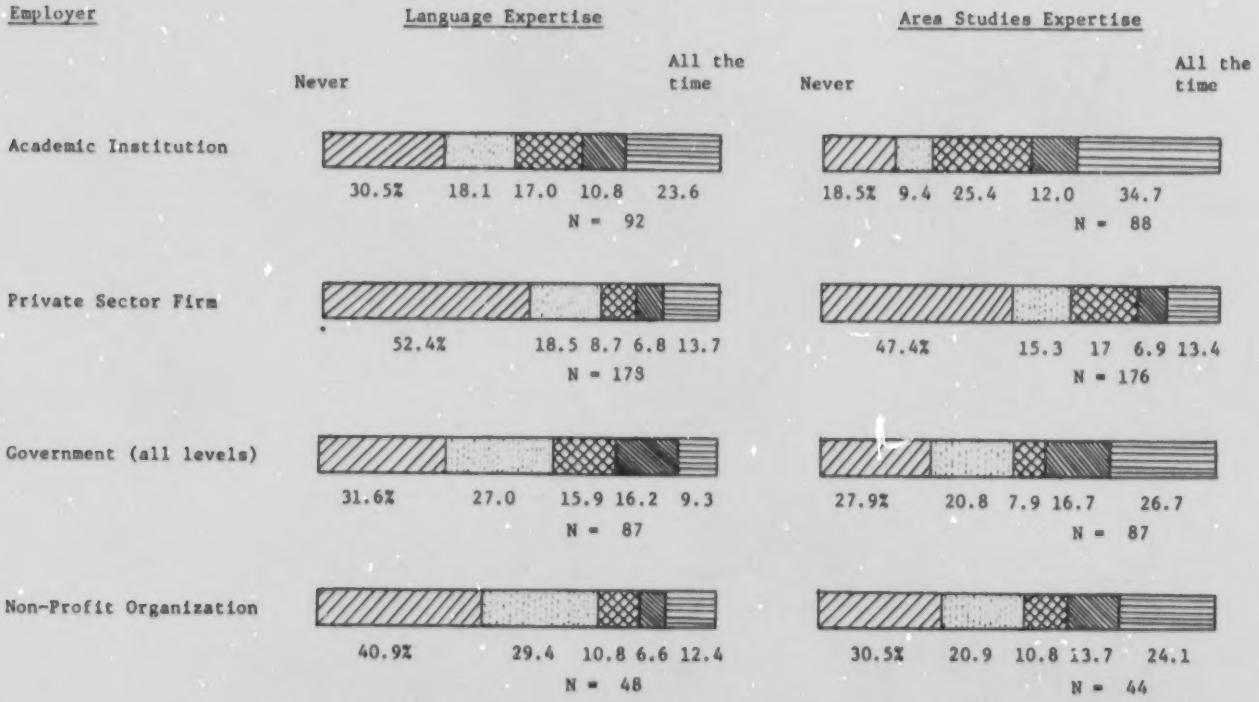

Fig. 5.4—Extent of language and area studies usage by non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients on current job

Although the vast majority of non-Ph.D.s working outside academia do not need or use their language and area studies skills, a considerable number do. Over 40 percent of the nonacademics in our sample listed either language skills or area studies knowledge as the most important skill when they were hired for their current job. This suggests that although other skills (disciplinary background, managerial skills and experience, and writing and communication skills, and the like) were most important in the hiring decision for a majority of the sample, a substantial minority were hired primarily for their language and area studies expertise. However, not all those who were hired for such skills actually use them regularly. Only about a quarter of the nonacademic sample reported spending at least part of their work week on activities that require language and area studies expertise. The greatest amount is spent making decisions or providing analysis and advice based on respondents' world area expertise (a median 19.7 percent of the work week). Other activities, such as using foreign language expertise in various ways, account for less than a median 10 percent of the work week of those who engage in such activities. Although it is not done regularly, the most common way in which non-Ph.D.s outside academia use their language and area studies expertise is in communicating with clients and foreign officials; almost a quarter of nonacademics report having done this at some time.

The most obvious conclusion is that foreign language and area studies skills are little used among nonacademics. A possible implication, then, is that non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients are a questionable investment; but although that may be true for many, it is still important to remember that almost a quarter of all non-Ph.D.s working outside academia use either their language or area studies skills *all the time* in their current jobs. Rather than dismissing non-Ph.D.s as a questionable investment, then, we need to examine these high users further. We also need to assess whether FLAS fellowship policy and the universities receiving such funds can stimulate the training of more high users of language and area studies skills.

To address such issues, we compared non-Ph.D.s who work outside academia and who use their language or area studies skills all the time with those who do not. We wanted to determine whether there were any significant differences between the two groups in overall preparation, language training and competence, the nature of their jobs, or in their expectations about earning a Ph.D. In many ways, the frequent users of language and area studies skills closely resemble those who never use such expertise or who use it infrequently. There are no significant differences between the two groups in the extent of their undergraduate preparation, the number of relevant languages

studied, the years spent studying them, or in linguistic competence at the end of training. Although a greater proportion of frequent users have either a Middle East or East Asian specialization, there is no significant difference between the two groups in their choice of an academic major. Even primary work activity is less of a distinguishing characteristic than might be expected. Infrequent users of language and area studies skills are twice as likely to be in sales and marketing as frequent users; over half of those in the diplomatic corps are frequent users as compared with lawyers, more than 80 percent of whom are infrequent users of such skills. Beyond these, however, there are no significant differences between the two groups in the distribution of their primary work activities. In fact, in reading the responses to several open-ended questions, one is struck by the diversity of occupations that use language and area studies expertise. For example, current jobs of non-Ph.D. respondents include international banking, political risk analysis, agricultural development abroad, international freight forwarding, and foreign broadcasting.

Despite strong similarities between the two groups, however, three basic factors differentiate them. First, frequent users are overwhelmingly concentrated in jobs that either require foreign language expertise or for which language or area studies expertise was the most important variable in the hiring decision. Of the frequent users, 70 percent listed these skills as the most important factor in the decision to hire them; this compares with only 18.6 percent of the infrequent users. Similarly, 83 percent of the frequent users work in jobs that require some type of foreign language skill (i.e., reading, speaking, writing), as compared with only 24.7 percent of the infrequent users.

A second factor is the job placement assistance that each group received. Half of the frequent users received some assistance, while only about a third of the infrequent users did. Frequent users were also more likely to have specific job placement actions taken on their behalf, such as having interviews with prospective employers arranged for them. The final factor distinguishing frequent and infrequent users is their expectations about earning a Ph.D. Frequent users are almost three times more likely to report that they expect to earn a Ph.D. (37.7 percent as compared with 13.0 percent of the infrequent users).[9]

This descriptive information about frequent users is consistent with the multivariate analysis presented in Chap. 4. Whether FLAS recipi-

[9]The only other major difference between frequent and infrequent users is the expected result of their current skill utilization levels: Frequent users report a significant increase in linguistic competence since the end of training, while infrequent users report significant attrition.

ents are able to use their language and area studies skills depends less on the nature of their training and their linguistic competence than on whether they can find a job that requires, or at least highly values, such expertise, and whether their training institution provides assistance in finding that job.

Differences in expectations about earning a Ph.D. are more problematic to interpret, however. We have no information about the direction of causality: Do more frequent users expect to earn a Ph.D. because they were always committed to such a goal and their job is merely one indication of that prior commitment, or has their job subsequently motivated them to pursue the further specialization provided by a Ph.D.? Because we cannot answer this question, and because future Ph.D.s and non-Ph.D.s are virtually indistinguishable at the time fellowship awards are made, it is unlikely that FLAS funds could be targeted between these two groups with any more precision than they are currently. However, this profile of frequent users does suggest that universities can exert a far greater effect on the later skill utilization levels of their graduates if they provide more information about jobs that value language and area studies expertise and then assist students in seeking those jobs.

HOW NON-PH.D. FLAS RECIPIENTS ASSESS THEIR GRADUATE TRAINING

Like their Ph.D. counterparts, the majority of non-Ph.D.s rate the quality of their graduate training as either a 4 or a 5 on a 5-point scale. Most of them also believe that they received about the right amount of training in the social sciences, the humanities, specific historical periods, and non-area disciplinary courses. However, over 40 percent of the sample believe that they took too few courses in policy analysis, statistics, and computer science, and 44.7 percent believe that they took too few professional school courses.

Respondents expressed similar sentiments in their answers to several open-ended questions.[10] Most described their graduate education favorably and were particularly positive about its intellectual quality. In addition, a number of those who have since left the field of language and area studies argued that the skills they acquired from

[10]The majority of non-Ph.D. respondents took the time to write comprehensive and thoughtful answers to several open-ended questions. They helped us greatly in understanding the diversity of non-Ph.D. experience and how FLAS recipients view their training some years after leaving graduate school. We read and coded over 50 percent of these responses (N = 280).

such training have served them well in other occupations. The remarks of a Middle Eastern specialist who is now working for a management consulting firm are typical:

> My graduate training provided me with several skills that I have applied in my current work: communication skills (i.e., writing, speaking, lecturing); a sense of organization and working within specific timeframes/deadlines; a holistic perspective which allows me to more easily see the Big Picture—important for management and long range planning; and an understanding of systems, which I have been able to apply to all areas of my life.

Like their Ph.D. counterparts, those non-Ph.D.s with negative assessments of their graduate education criticize it for its lack of utility, not its quality. Their most common complaint is that their graduate education has little relevance to their present careers, with some respondents expressing regret that, from this perspective, their training turned out to be a questionable investment. An FLAS recipient now working in a clerical position described his graduate education in this way:

> Graduate study did much for me intellectually and in other ways. I emerged a different person from it; I am glad and grateful that I had the opportunity to experience it. However, it did not help me find a job, and it did not bear any helpful or even discernible relation to anything I have done since. In this practical sense, the one I ignored and perhaps scorned when I was younger, my graduate training in Russian language and literature was a total waste of my time and your money.

Similar sentiments were echoed by a journalist and a librarian:

> I enjoyed every moment of the studies themselves and gained immensely—intellectually—from them. But they were of no help whatsoever occupationally, and I remain, wistfully, in the newspaper business to earn a living.

> . . . I personally benefitted from good training and an enormous widening of my horizons but the fact that I am now an informed citizen and a public librarian with surprising competence in the Middle East does not really justify the money spent on my training—and I suppose I'd like to tell someone I'm sorry!

Non-Ph.D.s' other major complaint was that they received little or no job-placement help. Even some respondents who are now using their language and area studies skills made this criticism. For example, an FLAS recipient working in international banking described the problem in this way:

> There was no effort whatsoever to help me find a nonacademic job. This despite the fact that the demographics of graduate students in the early to mid '70s would have indicated that no institution could have placed all its students in academic jobs.

A student currently in the job market described a similar problem:

> As it stands now, students receive far too little information and counseling at an early stage about employment prospects in various areas and about how to tailor their training to make their qualifications attractive to a wider range of prospective employers.

Consistent with this concern about the lack of placement assistance for students not wishing or able to pursue an academic career is a frequent recommendation that training institutions establish better links with nonacademic employers. A number of respondents suggested that universities establish internships in business and government as part of the training process for language and area specialists. Short of that, respondents argue that more information about various career options needs to be made available by training institutions.

In sum, non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients assess their graduate training in much the same way as their Ph.D. counterparts. They view its quality very positively and are grateful for the intellectual experience and challenge. At the same time and to a much greater extent than the Ph.D.s, many non-Ph.D.s now question the relevance of their training, given their current jobs. Some admit that the fault lies, at least partially, with them: They entered graduate school without well-specified career goals and thus were more easily shunted aside in a tight job market. Nevertheless, most also blame the universities they attended for not providing adequate information about career opportunities and for not helping them find jobs that would use their language and area studies skills.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In their preparation and training, non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients closely resemble peers who continued on to earn a Ph.D. The most striking differences between the two groups do not really appear until they decide whether or not to seek a Ph.D., and in their subsequent skill utilization levels. Our data can only suggest several reasons why non-Ph.D.s did not earn their doctorates: As a group, they entered graduate school less certain of their career plans; took longer to complete required training milestones; and seemed to have been more discouraged than FLAS Ph.D.s by the tight job market. As a result, the

majority abandoned their earlier intention to obtain a Ph.D., and despite a generally positive assessment of their training, left graduate school. In contrast with the relatively high usage of language and area studies expertise among FLAS Ph.D.s (over 40 percent of whom use at least one skill all the time), the majority of non-Ph.D.s now work outside their field of graduate training and less than a quarter use their language and area studies skills all the time in their current jobs.

Although usage levels are higher on average for all Ph.D.s, regardless of the sector in which they are employed, we know that much of the difference between Ph.D.s as a group and non-Ph.D.s is due to the Ph.D.s' employment as academics. In fact, our data indicate that as more and more FLAS recipients, including those with Ph.D.s, must seek employment outside academia, overall skill utilization levels will fall. Given the condition of the academic job market, then, it seems that the policy problem is not the failure of some fellowship recipients to complete their Ph.D.s; instead, the real cause for concern for the FLAS program and the institutions that receive fellowship funds is that many student recipients never use the unique skills they gain in graduate school, and that this waste of resources is likely to increase over time. We have already seen the role that job requirements and placement assistance can play in expanding utilization, and it is to this issue that we turn in our final chapter.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS AND STUDY IMPLICATIONS

Throughout this profile of former FLAS recipients, one finding has emerged repeatedly: The training of language and area studies specialists has remained much the same, while major changes have occurred in the job market and in skill utilization patterns. This chapter reviews the study's major findings and explores the policy implications of this discrepancy between training and application.

THE PREPARATION AND TRAINING OF FLAS RECIPIENTS

The FLAS fellowship program has functioned well as a meritocratic system that has brought good students from a wide variety of undergraduate institutions to the best universities in the country for language and area studies training. Between 1967 and 1979, most FLAS recipients majored in history or the humanities; fewer majored in the social sciences, and fewer yet in professional disciplines. The humanities orientation of the FLAS program is most evident among Soviet specialists, half of whom majored in language and literature.

The portrait of the typical FLAS recipient that emerges is that of a serious student who entered graduate school with some prior exposure to international studies and who, while in graduate school, spent considerable time in language training and related disciplinary study. On average, FLAS recipients obtained more language training than the average undergraduate, and the vast majority had some first-hand experience in another country or region of the world. Although only about half had either coursework or first-hand experience in the region in which they later specialized, most of them entered graduate school with at least the skills required for foreign language study and the motivation to immerse themselves in the study of another culture.

Although all FLAS recipients spent considerable time in graduate school, the amount of time needed to complete various milestones in the training process is one of the major distinctions between students who did and did not earn Ph.D.s. Non-Ph.D.s spent significantly more time reaching each milestone, and this extra time may have eventually influenced their decision to leave graduate school.

In most other respects, however, the training of these two types of FLAS recipients was remarkably similar. The distribution of graduate coursework for both groups was quite consistent across cohorts, with students in the late 1970s receiving basically the same education as those in the mid-1960s. Since the proportion of graduate training devoted to area studies courses largely depends on a student's academic major and its amenability to international studies, historians, humanists, and area studies majors were able to spend more time in such courses than those in economics, sociology, and various professional fields. Only a quarter of all FLAS recipients took any type of applied courses (e.g., in statistics or policy analysis) or ones offered by professional schools. Despite the FLAS program's emphasis on interdisciplinary study, only about half of all FLAS recipients took courses outside their academic majors, and even these people spent little time in such courses. Consequently, most FLAS recipients have little applied training and only a cursory introduction to the way that disciplines other than their own approach the study of foreign cultures.

FLAS non-Ph.D.s studied fewer languages and for a shorter period than their Ph.D. counterparts; nevertheless, both groups invested considerable time in language study, and received more extensive training than the older specialists included in Lambert's study. Similarly, self-ratings of linguistic competence indicate that FLAS recipients also possess greater language skills than the earlier generation of specialists.

However, these overall improvements mask continuing differences in training opportunities and competence levels. For example, only about half of all FLAS recipients are able to obtain some language training in a country where the language is spoken. In addition, students in a world area like East Asia are twice as likely to have such an opportunity as those specializing in Southeast Asia. Consistent with the shorter duration of their language study, non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients report lower levels of linguistic competence at the end of training than Ph.D.s; and unlike the Ph.D.s, who report increased language competence over time, the non-Ph.D.s report significant skill attrition. Even Ph.D.s, however, report difficulty in performing some tasks that might reasonably be expected of language and area specialists (e.g., teaching a course in their most proficient foreign language). In addition, a significant gap between reading and speaking skills persists, despite an overall improvement in linguistic competence since the time of Lambert's survey.

On balance, the FLAS program has played an important role in a training process that has attracted a broad base of competent and

highly motivated students.[1] These students spent considerable time in language and area studies training and now rate that training very highly. To the extent that comparisons are possible, FLAS recipients are receiving more training than older specialists did, with a resulting increase in competence levels. At the same time, they report serious concern about the lack of opportunity for language study abroad, and the seeming unresponsiveness of the graduate training process to a changing job market for their skills.

EMPLOYMENT AND SKILL UTILIZATION PATTERNS

The vast majority of FLAS Ph.D.s are currently teaching in colleges and universities, but the proportion doing so has decreased steadily over cohorts. Ph.D.s in the most recent cohort are more than twice as likely to have nonacademic jobs as those who earned their doctorates some ten years earlier. FLAS Ph.D.s with academic jobs are teaching in many different colleges and universities, and most work in institutions that are non-selective in their undergraduate admissions policies. In this very important way, then, the specialist expertise produced with FLAS assistance is now being disseminated broadly to undergraduates in all types of institutions. In addition, the majority of academics, regardless of the type of institution in which they teach, report using their language and area studies expertise all or most of the time.

For Ph.D.s working outside academia, however, and for most non-Ph.D.s, the picture is quite different. Most report that they never or

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[1]As we indicated in Chap. 1, the study design required by ED did not allow us to determine in any definitive way the extent to which FLAS fellowships have made a difference in the overall training of language and area studies specialists. Although a small number of FLAS alternates were originally included in the Ph.D. sample for comparison purposes, the small size of the non-Ph.D. sample did not permit the inclusion of alternates in that group.

However, we do know from the survey results that while financial aid was not a critical factor in decisions about graduate training, the availability of FLAS support did affect some students' (approximately 25 percent of each sample) choice of a particular world area or country specialization. Students also reported in responses to open-ended questions that FLAS support and its accompanying requirements provided them with the opportunity and motivation to engage in more language training than they might otherwise have. In this sense, FLAS ensures that recipients are better trained than they would be without the fellowship.

We know that a significantly lower proportion of alternates earned Ph.D.s as compared with FLAS recipients. However, this may be due as much to the effectiveness of campus selection procedures (i.e., more competent and better-motivated students are selected as recipients) as to the fellowship itself. At the same time, we know that alternates who earned their Ph.D.s do not differ in any significant way from FLAS recipients with doctorates.

only rarely use their language and area studies expertise in their current jobs, and over 60 percent of non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients employed full-time are currently working outside their field of graduate study. Nevertheless, about a quarter of those working in nonacademic jobs have been able to find positions that make extensive use of their specialist training. These former FLAS recipients work in jobs that either require language skills or that weighed language and area studies expertise heavily in the hiring decision.

To demonstrate more clearly what these patterns mean for a given group of FLAS recipients, Table 6.1 uses the data from our two surveys to show what is likely to happen to 100 hypothetical FLAS recipients who are *currently beginning graduate school*. Most will complete their Ph.D.s, although some will spend considerably longer doing so. However, only 48 percent of the group are likely to take academic jobs, and a similar proportion will use their language and area studies skills in a significant way. In other words, this current group of students is likely to deviate significantly from the traditional model of FLAS specialists who work inside academia and use their skills frequently in the course of teaching and research. Unless usage patterns outside academia change markedly, the majority of future FLAS recipients may be unable to use their skills, thus jeopardizing a critical national resource.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Although the primary purpose of this study was to present a detailed profile of FLAS recipients, findings about their training and employment raise a number of policy issues for the federal government, the institutions that train these specialists, and the organizations that employ them. None of these institutions by themselves can resolve the problem of skill underutilization; instead, a full resolution will probably depend on major changes in the American economy and the way in which the United States deals with the rest of the world. Still, our findings suggest some modifications in the training and placement process that may mitigate the problem.

The question of whether the United States is producing too many or too few language and area specialists inevitably arises in discussions about future training needs. Since this study focused on only one select group of specialists and did not collect data on either aggregate demand or supply, we cannot address this issue directly. Our data indicate that unemployment rates vary somewhat by discipline and

Table 6.1

Ph.D. Completion and Skill Utilization Patterns for a Hypothetical Group of FLAS Recipients

Of 100 recipients:
44 will earn a Ph.D. within approximately 8 years, and
16 will earn one several years later.

Of the 60 Ph.D.s:
39 will become academics, of whom
26 will use their FLAS expertise all or most of the time, and
13 will not.

21 will take nonacademic jobs,[a] on which
9 will use their FLAS expertise all or most of the time, and
12 will not.

Of the 40 non-Ph.D.s:
9 will work in academic institutions, where
4 will use their FLAS expertise all or most of the time, and
5 will not.

31 will take nonacademic jobs, on which
9 will use their FLAS expertise all or most of the time, and
22 will not.

NOTE: These projections are based on the data, presented in Chaps. 1, 2, and 5, on Ph.D. completion rates and the distribution of academic and nonacademic jobs among Ph.D.s and non-Ph.D.s. Skill utilization estimates are based on the proportion of various respondent types (i.e., Ph.D. versus non-Ph.D., academic vs. nonacademic job) who scored their language or area studies usage as either a 4 or a 5 on a 5-point scale.

[a]We are making a conservative estimate here and assuming that the proportion of FLAS Ph.D.s taking nonacademic jobs will grow at about half the rate that it did during the past decade.

have increased over time. However, it also seems justified to argue from our data that the real problem is not *un*employment, but rather *under*employment or underutilization of skills. Most former FLAS recipients can find some type of employment, and most report that their jobs are satisfying and challenging, but often inappropriate, given their training. Of course, some might argue that since existing language and area studies expertise remains underutilized, one might reasonably infer that too many specialists have been produced, given current demand levels. We do not believe that our data warrant such a conclusion. Furthermore, we would argue that before drastic and not easily reversible cutbacks are even considered, it makes much

more sense to examine how existing training and placement policies can be profitably modified.

Our data raise several issues about the distribution of FLAS fellowships. The first relates to the disciplinary majors of recipients specializing in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Recently, U.S. government officials have expressed concern about the lack of analysts qualified to examine social and political trends in the Soviet Union. Our data suggest that this lack may be due at least partially to the concentration of FLAS fellowships in language and literature. Soviet specialists are being produced, but not in the fields for which the U.S. government has a critical need. Consequently, we have a situation where not only is there above-average unemployment among FLAS Ph.D.s with this area specialization, but also at least modest demand for Soviet specialists with a different disciplinary focus. At the same time, U.S. policymakers have expressed concern about a decline in the number of Russian language speakers. Therefore, language and literature needs to be maintained as one disciplinary focus of FLAS fellowships for Soviet specialists. A solution here, then, is to redistribute some fellowships away from language and literature and into the social sciences.

Our comparison of Ph.D. and non-Ph.D. FLAS recipients raises a second question about the distribution of fellowships. Because of the declining academic labor market, there has been some discussion over the past few years about awarding a greater proportion of fellowships to terminal M.A. candidates and fewer to doctoral students. Only a few institutions have moved in any significant way toward this strategy, and even for these institutions, it is too early to tell how successful this approach has been. The majority of non-Ph.D.s we surveyed entered graduate school expecting to earn a Ph.D., and less than a third were actually terminal M.A. candidates at the time they received their FLAS fellowship. We do know that a significantly greater proportion of those with terminal Masters' degrees currently report little, not great, use of their language and area studies expertise. However, this finding should be interpreted with caution. Most of those in our sample were enrolled in graduate school before the increased interest in joint area-studies/professional degrees that has largely occurred within the last three years. Even the non-Ph.D.s in our sample who earned professional degrees often did so to acquire a marketable substitute for their area studies degrees, not complements to them. A good example are the lawyers in our sample, almost all of whom do not currently use their language and area studies expertise. On the other hand, although cell sizes are too small to make any valid statistical inferences, the experience of area specialists in our sample

with degrees in such areas as public health and business suggest that such combinations can result in high levels of skill-utilization.

We have concluded that FLAS recipients' decisions on whether to earn an M.A. or a Ph.D. are much less important than the extent to which they later use their language and area studies expertise. Nevertheless, training institutions should encourage students to be clear about their intentions and their course of study, so that they do not spend an inordinate amount of time reaching milestones in the training process. A prolonged stay in graduate school discourages most students and makes them more likely to drop out. Unfortunately, as our data indicate, it is not easy to distinguish ahead of time between those who will and will not finish graduate school. Often, the two groups look quite similar in their qualifications and preparation, and it is only some five or more years later that distinctions between the two become evident. However, to the extent that fellowship decisions are based on clear statements of purpose from students and a well-specified plan of study, aimless "wandering" through graduate school can be minimized.

The predominance of history and humanities majors among FLAS recipients raises a final distributional question. In our earlier report on the institutional aspects of the FLAS program, we explored the reasons for this dominance.[2] History and the humanities as academic disciplines have been much more amenable to area studies than other disciplines, particularly economics, sociology, and many of the professions. Consequently, the best students in history and the humanities are often attracted to area studies and are therefore in a competitive position to win FLAS fellowships. On the other hand, those in such disciplines as economics have to fight strong disciplinary norms against area studies, and as our survey indicates, find it difficult to take as many language and area studies courses as those in more supportive disciplines. At the same time, we found that FLAS recipients in economics, sociology, and the professions are easily employable and some are using their language and area studies skills in interesting and important ways. This suggests that there should not be a major shift away from history and the humanities, but that the FLAS program should strive to attract more economists and professional students to area studies. Such an effort can take any number of forms, some of which were suggested in our Phase I report—for example, a protected competition for those in disciplines with a low amenability to area studies, more flexible requirements for language study (such as intensive summer training), and postdoctoral

[2]McDonnell et al., p. 108.

awards that would allow students to concentrate on area studies after they complete their disciplinary training.[3]

Our training profile of FLAS recipients suggests several other areas where changes might be made. In both surveys, respondents expressed the serious concern that they had taken too few applied courses and too few area studies courses outside their own discipline. They argued that courses in statistics, computer science, policy analysis, and those offered by various professional schools not only were likely to make them more competitive on the job market, but also that such knowledge provided yet another set of research tools that could be used to understand a particular world area, whether specialists were working in academia or outside of it. Similarly, respondents believed it is important to understand how other disciplines approach the study of a world area, and particularly, for those in disciplines other than history to have a good grounding in the history of an area. The need for interdisciplinary study is becoming even more important as area specialists find themselves working either in colleges and universities or in nonacademic institutions that have no other employees with a similar world area specialty. In these cases, the area specialist needs to function as a generalist with broad knowledge of his or her world area. Respondents' assessments of their training confirm the appropriateness of the FLAS program's emphasis on interdisciplinary approaches to area studies and its increased interest in the link between area studies and applied disciplines. Changing what has basically been a static curriculum to include such emphases makes sense not only in light of the current job market, but also as a way to expand the theoretical and analytical perspectives that inform the study of other cultures.

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[3]Ibid., pp. 158-159.

As we indicated in Chap. 1, ED's practice of listing priority disciplines for each world area has exerted little influence over university selection procedures, largely because such priorities often run counter to the strengths of individual centers and their best students. However, to the extent that ED wishes to continue this practice, it can take guidance from Table 2.2, which shows the underrepresentation of language and literature majors among African, South, and Southeast Asian specialists and an overrepresentation among Soviet specialists. Similarly, this distribution shows that economics, geography, sociology, and the professional disciplines are underrepresented in all world areas except Southeast Asia and, for the professional fields, Africa. If employment is the criterion, instead of a broad representation of disciplines among area specialists, then (based on Table 2.6) FLAS awards to economists, political scientists, and historians should be encouraged because their unemployment rate is significantly lower than it is for language and literature and linguistics majors. On the other hand, if the priority disciplines are predicated on whether majors in a particular discipline are likely to use their language and area studies skills in their employment, then the type of job a specialist holds is a far more significant predictor of usage than either world area or academic discipline (see Chap. 4). Among academics, however, historians (regardless of their world area affiliation) are more likely than those in all other disciplines to use their language and area studies skills, with sociologists, linguists, anthropologists, and economists the least likely to do so.

The international studies community universally agrees on the need for language study in a country where the language is spoken, and our data confirm that judgment. We found that language study abroad is a significant factor in predicting linguistic competence at the end of training. At the same time, we also found that only about half of all FLAS recipients receive such training, and that students specializing in Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia are much less likely to obtain this type of training than those in other world areas. Therefore, we can only reiterate what others have argued: If the U.S. government wants to assure an adequate supply of people who are linguistically competent in non-Western languages, it will need to support more language study abroad and help equalize such opportunities across world areas.

The finding that a large proportion of FLAS Ph.D.s are teaching in smaller institutions, with only a few other faculty members specializing in their region of the world, suggests yet another important role for the large universities that train FLAS Ph.D.s. In our earlier visits to Title VI-funded centers, we found that some centers provide seminars, workshops, and library privileges to those teaching in nearby colleges as part of their outreach program. We suggested then that such a use of center resources was one of the most effective types of outreach. Our findings from the current FLAS survey confirm this earlier recommendation. If the area specialists working outside major centers are to maintain their skills and not feel intellectually isolated, they need to participate regularly in professional activities that bring numerous colleagues together. We also know from our analysis that having an organized program in language and area studies, even at smaller institutions, is a significant factor in the ability of academics to use and maintain their skills. This suggests that institutional support for programs at smaller institutions is also necessary if the goal of disseminating language and area studies knowledge broadly is to be met.

The final change that this study implies for training institutions may be the most difficult to make. Universities have well-established placement networks for helping graduates find academic jobs, and although not all are assisted in finding jobs, most are. However, the situation is very different for those graduates who want or must accept nonacademic jobs. Respondents noted both the reluctance and inability of their professors and academic departments to assist in the placement process for nonacademic jobs.

Since our data indicate that more and more FLAS recipients will need to look to the nonacademic labor market over the next few years, it seems that training institutions have little choice but to strengthen their nonacademic placement networks. Universities now need as

much information about nonacademic jobs that use language and area studies skills as they have about academic jobs. There are several ways to obtain such information. One is to keep track of graduates who are now working in these types of jobs. Such graduates can be a useful source of information about other positions in the same field and about the training needs for these jobs; but we found in tracking respondents that universities know the least about their graduates working outside academia.

A second way to build an effective placement network is to develop systematic links with government, nonprofit, and private sector organizations that use language and area studies skills. This can be done as part of center outreach programs or as part of the graduate training process. For example, a number of respondents suggested that internships in such organizations be included as part of the training process, and some universities have already begun to incorporate these into their international studies programs. Although such internships may not lead directly to permanent jobs, they at least give students a realistic sense of the range of available options, and of the ways in which their expertise is likely to be used outside academia. Internships can also provide universities with information about training needs as they work to update their curriculum, and such a program will alert potential employers to a pool of available expertise.[4]

Up to this point, we have focused on the clear need for FLAS policy and graduate institutions to modify their approach to specialist training and placement. At the same time, however, the changes that universities can bring about will make no more than a marginal difference if American employers, particularly those in the private sector, do not alter the way they do business. Because of attitudinal and organizational factors, many American businesses have chosen either not to expand into international markets or to rely on foreign nationals in staffing their overseas operations. For example, American firms have often been reluctant to compete abroad because high initial start-up costs (e.g., the long lead-time needed to negotiate co-production agreements) work against the short-term profit horizons of most companies. In addition, we found in a previous study that when American firms do engage in business overseas, they tend to use foreign nationals for the kinds of tasks that language and area special-

[4]A number of international studies programs directed at the B.A. and M.A. levels routinely include such internships as part of student training (e.g., at Michigan State, Stanford, and Yale). For a discussion of these programs, see Robert E. Ward, "Reflections on a Conference on Innovative Curricula in International Studies," sponsored by the American Council on Education's Commission on International Education, Washington, D.C., November 8, 1982.

ists can perform. These corporations argue that such an arrangement is cost-effective and allows them to hire Americans solely for what they consider to be more important managerial skills.[5]

Convincing more U.S. firms that expanding into international markets can be profitable and that using American language and area specialists has advantages over relying on foreign nationals is not something that universities can or necessarily should be expected to do on their own. It seems that if increased U.S. trade abroad is in the national interest, the federal government should lead the way in encouraging American businesses. Major incentives clearly involve various types of tax and subsidy arrangements. However, agencies like the Commerce Department might also help U.S. firms by providing information on how other firms have effectively used area specialist expertise. Although there were relatively few in our sample, responses to open-ended questions from those employed by banks suggest that this sector might be a worthwhile one to examine in some detail. Several major American banks are using such expertise more extensively than other types of firms, and even given their widely publicized problems with foreign loans, these banks are still earning a large proportion of their profits from overseas operations.[6] Consequently, they might provide a manpower utilization model for firms in other sectors. Language and area studies expertise is not a substitute for technological and price competitiveness, but it can, for example, be a critical tool in marketing and risk assessment. However, many American firms remain to be convinced of that fact.

The profile of former FLAS recipients presented in this study suggests that language and area studies are now moving through a transitional period. There is no question that universities have provided high-quality training to a group of talented and motivated students. The task now is to reshape that training in the face of new realities so an important national resource will not go unused.

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[5]Berryman et al.

[6]Michael Wines, "Betting on Brazil," *National Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 13, March 26, 1983, p. 663.

Appendix A

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Survey data collection involved five tasks:

- Establishing the universe of FLAS recipients, using ED Division of International Education (DIE) files;
- Identifying those recipients who earned Ph.D.s;
- Selecting separate samples of Ph.D.s and non-Ph.D.s;
- Obtaining current addresses for all potential respondents; and
- Mailing questionnaires and conducting follow-up procedures.

The composition of the two samples and the process by which they were selected are discussed in Chap. 1; the remaining data collection tasks are described below.

ESTABLISHING THE UNIVERSE OF FLAS RECIPIENTS

The universities that receive FLAS fellowship quotas are required to file end-of-year reports with DIE, listing the students who were awarded FLAS fellowships during the preceding academic year. These records constituted the major source for our study's sampling frame (all graduate students who received academic-year FLAS fellowships between 1962 and 1979). Prior to 1973, however, a number of undergraduate and summer fellowships were also awarded. Consequently, in building the sampling frame, these undergraduate and summer-only recipients had to be deleted. In addition, the duplicate names of students who received fellowships in multiple years were also deleted.

Unfortunately, DIE records were incomplete for the years 1973-1979. Therefore, we had to request information directly from the 51 universities whose DIE files were incomplete. (Information on recipients at the other 49 institutions receiving FLAS fellowship quotas was obtained entirely from DIE files.) These institutions were able to supply about 70 percent of the data missing from DIE files. The remaining information was reconstructed by Rand staff, using other sources such as university correspondence with DIE and individual file cards on fellowship nominees (information from the latter source

had to be verified because not all nominees eventually receive fellowships).

Using this combination of procedures, we were able to identify the entire population of FLAS fellowship recipients (N = 9534) and designated alternates who never received any FLAS support (N = 11,000). In addition to the names and permanent addresses of recipients and alternates, DIE records also provided data on the institutions that students attended, the languages they studied during their fellowship period, and the year(s) in which they received or were alternates for fellowship support.

IDENTIFYING RECIPIENTS WHO EARNED PH.D.S

DIE receives no information about the final degree status of FLAS recipients from either the recipients themselves or the institutions they attended. Therefore, we had to identify the FLAS recipients who subsequently earned Ph.D.s by using sources other than DIE. The most efficient and reliable method would have been to computer match our file of FLAS recipients and alternates against the master file of earned doctorates maintained by the National Research Council (NRC). Since doctoral students are required to file such information with NRC as part of the degree-granting process at their individual universities, NRC's files are quite complete. However, NRC's confidentiality assurances to its respondents prevented us from obtaining access to its master file. Instead, NRC agreed to let us use their file of commencement bulletins from all institutions that grant doctorates as an alternative data source. NRC staff hand-checked our file against relevant commencement bulletins for the years 1967-1979.

Our subsequent reliability checks indicated that this procedure identified approximately 89 percent of all FLAS Ph.D.s. The major source of error resulted from this method's inability to identify those students who received an FLAS fellowship at one institution and subsequently earned their Ph.D.s at another. Several other sources were used to identify additional Ph.D.s not found during the search of commencement bulletins. These included:

- The *Dynamic Inventory of Soviet and East European Specialists* (Warren Eason, Ohio State University, Principal Investigator).
- Bibliographies of doctoral dissertations on Southeast Asia, South Asia, Japan, and Korea compiled by Frank Schulman,

Director, East Asia Collection, University of Maryland libraries.[1]

- Carl Deal, ed., *Latin America and the Caribbean: A Dissertation Bibliography*, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1977.
- Michael Sims, ed., *American and Canadian Doctoral Dissertations and Masters Theses on Africa: 1886-1974*, Crossroads Press, Los Angeles, 1976.
- Various Ph.D. listings published by individual universities and area studies programs (e.g., *Ph.D.s of the Program of African Studies*, Northwestern University, February 1980).

As a further reliability check, we asked several of the universities that receive large numbers of FLAS fellowships to check our recipient file against their own institutional records. This process included:

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[1]The following bibliographies, compiled by Frank Schulman, were used:

For Southeast Asia:

"Doctoral Dissertations on Southeast Asia, 1968-1975: An Annotated Bibliography of International Research." Forthcoming publication of the Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan.

"Doctoral Dissertations on Southeast Asia, 1979-1985: A Bibliography." Forthcoming publication.

For South Asia:

Doctoral Dissertations on South Asia, 1966-1970: An Annotated Bibliography Covering North America, Europe, and Australia. Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1971.

"Doctoral Dissertations on South Asia, 1971-1980: A Bibliography." Forthcoming publication of the Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan.

For China:

Doctoral Dissertations on China: A Bibliography of Studies in Western Languages, 1945-1970. Coauthored with Leonard H.D. Gordon. University of Washington Press, Seattle and London, 1972.

Doctoral Dissertations on China, 1971-1975: A Bibliography of Studies in Western Languages. University of Washington Press, Seattle and London, 1978.

"Doctoral Dissertations on China, 1976-1980: A Bibliography." Forthcoming publication of the University of Washington Press.

For Japan and Korea:

Japan and Korea: An Annotated Bibliography of Doctoral Dissertations in Western Languages, 1877-1969. American Library Association, Chicago, 1970.

Doctoral Dissertations on Japan and Korea, 1969-1974: A Classified Bibliographical Listing of International Research. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1976.

Doctoral Dissertations on Asia: An Annotated Bibliographical Journal of Current International Research. Association for Asian Studies, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1975-1981.

"Doctoral Dissertations on Japan and on Korea, 1969-1979: A Bibliography of Studies in Western Languages." Forthcoming publication of the University of Washington Press.

- A computer match of our entire file against the master file of M.A. and Ph.D. graduates of the University of California, Berkeley,
- A hand check of the Stanford FLAS recipient file with the master student file in the Registrar's Office there, and
- A hand match of the file of FLAS recipients in South and East Asian studies at the University of Pennsylvania with University records.

Since these checks indicated that our error rate in identifying Ph.D.s was less than 5 percent, we assumed that the 3291 Ph.D.s we had identified constituted most of the FLAS recipients (and the smaller sample of alternates) who had earned a Ph.D. between 1967 and 1979. This 5 percent error rate was confirmed when we began tracking the non-Ph.D. sample. In contacting the institutions these FLAS recipients attended, we found that 5 percent of those assumed not to have a Ph.D. actually earned one between 1967 and 1979. In sum, although the procedure we used to identify Ph.D.s was less efficient than it would have been had we been granted access to NRC's master file of earned doctorates, we were able to construct the universe of FLAS Ph.D.s within an acceptable margin of error.

OBTAINING CURRENT ADDRESSES FOR ALL POTENTIAL RESPONDENTS

Since some respondents left graduate school as long as fifteen years ago, we had to draw on several sources in seeking to obtain their current addresses. The first step was to consult the membership directories and mailing labels purchased from the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, the African Studies Association, the Association for Asian Studies, the Middle Eastern Studies Association, and the Council for European Studies. We then checked employment-related directories, such as the National Faculty Directory and the U.S. State Department Directory. We also consulted the membership directories of such disciplinary associations as the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Sociological Association. When all printed sources were exhausted, we then compiled lists of the remaining respondents by university and asked world area center directors to check their records for any current addresses that they might have. Using this combination of sources, we were able to obtain addresses for about 65 percent of all FLAS Ph.D.s.

The Rand Telephone Survey Group then tracked the remaining respondents using a variety of sources. Calls were made to respondents' graduate departments, university graduate studies offices, and alumni associations. In many cases, these sources provided leads that were followed up through calls to respondents' parents, friends, and employers. This tracking process produced addresses for an additional 25 percent of all FLAS Ph.D.s, for a total 90 percent located.

Tracking the non-Ph.D. sample was much more difficult because universities have less information about such students. In addition, non-Ph.D.s are employed in a broader range of occupations than Ph.D.s, thus making it less efficient to use professional directories in tracking them. Consequently, the majority of non-Ph.D.s were tracked through telephone inquiries to their graduate departments, parents, friends, and employers. Current addresses were obtained for 55 percent of the non-Ph.D. sample. In addition to locating a smaller proportion of this group, we also found a disproportionate number of respondents in the most recent fellowship cohort (81 percent located) as compared with the oldest one (30 percent located). Consequently, the final non-Ph.D. sample had to be weighted to take account of this bias.

QUESTIONNAIRE MAILINGS AND FOLLOW-UP PROCEDURES

Questionnaires were sent to all FLAS Ph.D.s in four waves (as current addresses were obtained). A postcard reminder was sent seven to ten days later; a letter and second questionnaire about four weeks after the first mailing; and telephone reminder calls were made at approximately the same time. The mail-out procedures for the non-Ph.D. sample were similar; however, a second questionnaire was not sent to these respondents. Our experience with the Ph.D. group indicated that most of the additional response was generated as a result of the telephone reminder calls, not by the second mailing. Therefore, given time and budgetary constraints, it was decided to limit follow-up procedures for the non-Ph.D. sample to the postcard and telephone reminders. To the extent possible, Telephone Survey staff attempted to find new addresses for those respondents whose questionnaires were returned as undeliverable.

Approximately 7.8 percent of the Ph.D. group and 11.8 percent of the non-Ph.D. sample are currently living outside the United States. These respondents were sent questionnaires along with international money orders to cover return postage costs. Because of the expense, this group received postcard reminders, but no second questionnaire

or telephone reminder call. As expected, the response rate for overseas respondents was lower than for the domestic sample; but it was still about 50 percent for both Ph.D.s and non-Ph.D.s.

Appendix B

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire sent to FLAS Ph.D.s is reprinted here. Since the one sent to non-Ph.D.s was virtually identical (with the exception of several questions pertaining only to academics that were deleted), only those questions from the non-Ph.D. questionnaire that apply solely to non-Ph.D.s are reprinted at the end of this appendix.

Foreign Language And Area Studies Questionnaire

First, we'd like some background information.

1. Date of Birth _____ _____/_____/_____ 15 20/
   MONTH DAY YEAR

2. Sex: Male 1
   Female 2 21/

3. Racial/Ethnic Identification:

White/Caucasian	1	Puerto Rican	5	20/
Black/Negro/Afro-American	2	Oriental	6	
American Indian	3	Other Asian	7	
Mexican-American/Chicano	4	Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____	8	

4. List in the table below all collegiate and graduate degrees, excluding honorary degrees that have been awarded to you. PLEASE ENTER THE NUMBER AND NAME OF YOUR MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY FROM THE DEGREE AND EMPLOYMENT SPECIALTIES LIST ON THE FACING PAGE.

TYPE OF DEGREE	YEAR GRANTED	ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE/ MAJOR (Use specialities list) Name	Number	GRADE POINT AVERAGE*	INSTITUTION NAME	CITY (or campus) AND STATE	
Bachelor's							23 29/
Master's							30 34/
Doctorate							35 39/
Other (Specify)							40 46/

*In calculating your grade point average, please use A=4.0 A-=3.7 B+=3.3 B=3.0 B-=2.7 C+=2.5 C=2.0

CARD 01

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5. As part of your formal undergraduate education did you take one or more of the following:

	YES	NO	
A. Three or more world area courses on any region of the world	1	2	47
B. Three or more world area courses in the same world area as your Ph.D. training	1	2	48
C. How many years of a Western language (including Russian and other East European languages); (please specify the language(s)) _____	# of Years		49 50 55
D. How many years of a non-Western language; (please specify the language(s)) _____	# of Years		56 57 62

6. A. Prior to beginning graduate training, did you do any of the following?

B. Was it in the world area of your graduate training?

	A. YES	A. NO	B. YES	B. NO	
Collegiate study abroad	1	2	1	2	63 64
Summer travel or residence abroad	1	2	1	2	65 66
Work abroad	1	2	1	2	67 68
Peace Corps Service	1	2	1	2	69 70
Military Service abroad	1	2	1	2	71 72

The next group of questions focuses on aspects of your graduate training.

7. A. How many calendar years elapsed between your first entering graduate school and receiving your Ph.D.?

Number of Years _____ 73 74

B. Of these years, how many were you officially enrolled in the university?

Number of Years _____ 75 76

CA3D 01

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8. A. Which world area did you specialize in during your graduate training? **(If more than one, circle only your primary world area)**

Africa	01	Pacific Island	11	77-78/
Canada	12	South Asia	05	
East Asia	02	Southeast Asia	06	
International Studies	10	Uralic/Altaic/Inner Asia	09	
Latin America	03	USSR and Eastern Europe	07	
Middle/Near East	04	Western Europe	08	
		Other (Please Specify)	88	

_____

B. Within this world area, which country or countries did you focus on during your graduate training?

_____ _____

_____ _____

9. Which **one** of the following initially motivated you to concentrate on these regions or countries? (Circle your most important reason)

Mine or my family's native country/ region	01	79-80/
An undergraduate course or teacher	02	
Travel experience	03	
Family lived there	04	
Contact in U.S. with area nationals	05	
Intellectual interest or curiosity	06	
Military service in the area	07	
Peace Corps experience in the area	10	
Research in the area	11	
Missionary/religious work abroad	12	
Other (Please specify)	88	

_____

CARD 01

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10. Using the codes from the language list below, please list the languages you have studied relevant to your world area training. Indicate your degree of competence, how you were trained, and the amount of formal training you have had.

LANGUAGE (Use codes from list below)	DEGREE OF COMPETENCE AT CONCLUSION OF STUDY (insert x from scale in boxes below) Not at all / With Difficulty / Easily (1 2 3 4 5) Reading	Writing	Speaking	HOW COMPETENCE WAS ACQUIRED (Check all appropriate boxes) Learned as a Child	Self-taught	Formal Study Where Language Spoken	Formal Study in U.S.	Peace Corps	AMOUNT OF FORMAL TRAINING List in Academic Year Equivalent (One year of intensive language instruction should be recorded as two years.)	CARD 02
										13 25 /
										26 38 /
										39 51 /
										52 64 /
										65 77 /
										CARD 03
										13 25 /

LANGUAGE LIST

100 AFRICA
101 Acholi
102 Afar
103 Ateso
104 Afrikaans
105 Akan
106 Amharic
107 Angas
108 Bambara
109 Bemba
110 Bemi
111 Bena
112 Berber
113 Bulom
190 Chamba
114 Chibemba
115 Chichewa
116 Chiluba
117 Chinyanja
118 Dagbani
119 Dho-Luo
120 Digueno
121 Divuli
122 Edo
123 Efik
124 Ekaka
125 Ewe Mina Fon
126 Fang
127 Fante
128 Fula
129 Ga
130 Ganda
131 Ibibio
132 Igala
133 Igbo Ibo
134 Kabye
135 Kikongo
136 Kikuyu
137 Kinyarwanda
138 Kissi-ge
184 Kirundi
139 Kwahundu
140 Kpelle
141 Krio
142 Krv
143 Lagma
144 Lesotho
145 Lingala
146 Lobi
147 Lozi
148 Luganda
149 Luvia
150 Luvi
196 Mam
151 Mandingo
152 Mandinka
153 Masai
154 Mende
155 Moré
156 Mbundu
157 Ndebele
158 Nguni
159 Okutsootso
160 Oromo (Galla)
161 Poul
162 Songa
185 Sotho-ena
163 Shona
164 Sierra Leone Creole
165 Silozi
166 Somali
196 Soma
167 Susoa
168 Suou
169 Swahili
170 Siddi
171 Tamachek
172 Tamasright
173 Tera
174 Tigre
175 Tigrinya
176 Tswana
177 Twi
178 Wolof
179 Xhosa
180 Yala
181 Yoruba
182 Yudic
183 Zulu

200 EAST ASIA
201 Chinese (classical, modern)
202 Japanese
203 Khalka Mongolian
204 Korean
714 Mongolian
715 Mongolian, Classical
205 Tibetan

300 LATIN AMERICA
301 Aymara
302 Cakchiquel
316 Carib
303 Chinantec
304 Chontal
305 Guarani
306 Haitian Creole
307 Mayan
308 Mazatec
309 Mixtec
310 Nahuatl
311 Portuguese
312 Quechua
313 Spanish
314 Wareo
315 Yucatec

400 MIDDLE EAST
401 Arabic
402 Aramaic
403 Coptic
404 Egyptian, Ancient
405 Egyptian, Modern
406 Elamite
407 Hebrew
408 Hittite
409 Iranian, Ancient
410 Kazk
411 Kazan Turkic
412 Kirghiz
413 Kurdish
414 Macedonian
415 Persian/Farsi
416 Sumerian
417 Syriac
418 Turkic, Middle
419 Turkic, Uigur
420 Turkish
421 Uzbek
422 Yiddish

500 SOUTH ASIA
501 Bengali
502 Gothe
503 Gujarati
504 Hindi-Urdu
505 Kannada
506 Malayalam
519 Malgan
507 Marathi
508 Mundari
509 Nepali
510 Oriya
511 Pushto
512 Rajasthi
513 Punjabi
514 Sanskrit
515 Sinhala
516 Tamil
517 Telugu
205 Tibet
518 Urdu

600 SOUTH EAST ASIA
601 Burmese
602 Batak
603 Burmese
604 Cambodian
605 Cebuano
606 Ilocano
607 Ohanano
608 Indonesian
609 Javanese
610 Kachin
611 Laotian
612 Malay-indonesian
613 Tagalog
614 Thai
615 Vietnamese
616 Visayan

700 SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE
701 Albanian
702 Armenian
703 Bulgarian
704 Czech
705 Estonian
727 Finnish
706 Georgian
708 Greek, Modern
710 Hungarian
711 Latvian
712 Lithuanian
713 Lusatian
714 Mongolian
715 Mongolian, Classical
716 Polish
717 Rumanian, Rumanian
718 Russian
719 Serbo-Croatian
720 Slavic, Old Church
721 Slovak
722 Slovene
723 Slovenian
724 Ukrainian
421 Uzbek

800 WESTERN EUROPE
801 Basque
802 Breton
803 Catalan
804 Danish
805 Dutch
806 French
807 Scottish Gaelic
808 German
709 Greek, Modern
809 Icelandic
Modern Old
811 Irish Gaelic
813 Italian
814 Norwegian
311 Portuguese
815 Provencal
313 Spanish
816 Swedish
817 Welsh

900 INNER ASIA
901 Uralic
902 Altaic

096 Other (Please specify)

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11. If you have studied only one modern foreign language, answer the next two questions in terms of that particular language. If you have studied more than one language, answer the questions in terms of the language in which you consider yourself currently most proficient (other than your native language). Note that you do *not* have to be *highly* proficient in your most proficient language.

Enter code number from language code list: ☐☐☐ 26 28/

	11. A. Immediately after you completed formal language training could you use the language to:					11. B. Today could you use the language to:					
CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER	With Great Difficulty Or Not At All		With Some Difficulty		Quite Easily	With Great Difficulty or Not At All		With Some Difficulty		Quite Easily	
Teach a course in your academic discipline?	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	29 30/
Conduct fieldwork research using the spoken language	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	31 32/
In face to face conversation, understand a native speaker who is speaking slowly and carefully (i.e., deliberately adapting his or her speech to suit you)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	33 34/
Give simple biographical information about yourself (birth, composition of family, early schooling, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	35 36/
State and support with examples and reasons a position on a controversial topic (for example, birth control, nuclear safety, environmental pollution)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	37 38/
Describe the role played by Congress in the United States government system	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	39 40/

CARD 03

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12. About what proportion of your graduate studies (including supervised independent study) was devoted to: (TOTAL to 100%)

A. Language acquisition	_____%	41-42/
B. World area courses in your academic major	_____%	43-44/
C. Non-area courses in your academic major (e.g., disciplinary core courses)	_____%	45-46/
D. Area courses outside your academic major	_____%	47-48/
E. Policy analysis, statistics, computer science courses	_____%	49-50/
F. Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____	_____%	51-52/
	100%	

13. About what proportion of your **total graduate coursework** was in: (TOTAL to 100%)

A. Language and literature	_____%	53-54/
B. Art, music, philosophy, religion	_____%	55-56/
C. History	_____%	57-58/
D. Social Sciences (e.g., political science, sociology, geography psychology)	_____	59-60/
E. Economics	_____%	61-62/
F. Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____	_____%	63-64/
	100%	

14. About what proportion of graduate coursework **in your world area** specialization focused on the time period: (TOTAL 100%)

A. Pre-1800	_____%	65-67/
B. 1800-1945	_____%	68-70/
C. 1945-present	_____%	71-72/
	100%	

15. During your graduate training did you ever take any professional school courses (e.g., agriculture, business, education, law medicine, public health, urban planning)?

Yes 1	73/
No ..... 2 ◆ (GO TO Q.16)	

CARD 03

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15. A. (IF YES) In which schools?

Agriculture/Agricultural Economics	01	Medicine	06
Architecture	02	Public Health	07
Business	03	Urban Planning	10
Forestry	04	Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)	88
Law	05		

74 77/

15. B. How many professional school courses did you take?

_____ Number of courses

78 79/

16. Did you collect your dissertation materials/data in the country or region that you specialized in during graduate training?

Yes	1
No	2

80/

CARD 03

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17. Below is a list of sources for financial support. Using the codes provided, please indicate (with one or more numbers, as appropriate) the sources of support for different training activities and the number of years you received this type of support.

ACTIVITY CODES

1 = Graduate Coursework
2 = Graduate Language Training
3 = Dissertation fieldwork/data collection
4 = Dissertation writing
5 = Postdoctoral language study
6 = Postdoctoral research
7 = Postdoctoral retraining for new career
8 = Other

SOURCE OF SUPPORT	ACTIVITIES SUPPORTED (Use codes listed above)	TOTAL NUMBER OF YEARS SUPPORT RECEIVED	
Own savings/nontraining-related employment			CARD 04 13-18/
Parental/family support			19-24/
Loans			25-30/
Teaching assistant			31-36/
Research assistant			37-42/
Employer support			43-48/
Work-study program (university)			49-54/
G.I. Bill			55-60/
Other internal university fellowship funds			61-66/
NDFL/FLAS Title VI			67-72/
NDEA Title IV			73-78/
Foreign Area Fellowship Program (Ford)			CARD 05 13-18/
Fulbright Hays - student (Office of Education)			19-24/
Fulbright Hays - faculty (Office of Education)			25-30/
Fulbright Hays - student (State Department)			31-36/
Fulbright Hays - faculty (State Department)			37-42/
Woodrow Wilson			43-48/
Social Science Research Council			49-54/
American Council of Learned Societies			55-60/
American Association of University Women			61-66/
National Endowment for the Humanities			67-72/
National Institutes of Health			73-78/
National Institute of Mental Health			CARD 06 13-18/
Ford Foundation			19-24/
Rockefeller Foundation			25-30/
Carnegie Foundation			31-36/
Office of Naval Research			37-42/
National Science Foundation			43-48/
Guggenheim			49-54/
Hazen			55-60/
Russell Sage			61-66/
Wenner - Gren			67-72/
IREX			73-78/
Doherty Foundation			CARD 07 13-18/
Tinker Foundation			19-24/
Inter American			25-30/
Mellon Foundation			31-36/
Japan Foundation			37-42/
Danforth Foundation			43-48/
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)			49-54/
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)			55-60/
			61-66/

CARD 04/05/06/07

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CARD 08

18. Did the availability of certain types of financial support affect either the world area and specific country(s) you selected for study, or your choice of a dissertation topic? 13/

Yes 1
No ..... 2 ➧ (GO TO Q.19)

A. (IF YES) In what way? 14 15/

_____
_____
_____

19. Since completing your Ph.D. have you engaged in any type of formal postdoctoral study? 16/

Yes 1
No ..... 2 ➧ (GO TO Q.20)

A. (IF YES) Was this study: (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

in language training 1 17/
in area studies 2 18/
in the same discipline as your Ph.D. 3 19/
in a different field than your Ph.D. (PLEASE SPECIFY FIELD) 4 20/

_____

The next few questions seek information about your initial career plans.

20. When you **entered** Ph.D. training, where did you plan to work upon completion of your your degree? 21 22/

Business or Industry 01
Junior College, Two-Year College 02
Professional School 03
Four Year Undergraduate College 04
University 05
Elementary/Secondary School System 06
Private Foundation 07
Museum or Historical Society 10
Research Library or Archive 11
(GO TO Q.21)

U.S. Military Service 13
U.S. Government, Civilian Employee 14
State Government 15
Local Government 16
International Agency 17
Other Non-Profit Organization 18
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) 88
(GO TO Q.21)

_____

No Specific Career Objective ..... 99 ➧ (GO TO Q.20A)

CARD 08

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(For those with no specific career objectives when entering Ph.D. training)

20. A. When during graduate school did you decide where to work? (CIRCLE ONE)

During:
1st year 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th 7th 8th 23/

20. B. Where did you plan to work? (CIRCLE ONE)

Business or Industry 01
Junior College, Two-Year College 02
Professional School 03
Four Year College 04
University 05
Elementary/Secondary School System 06
Private Foundation 07
Museum or Historical Society 10
Research Library or Archive 11
U.S. Military Service 13
U.S. Government, Civilian Employee 14
State Government 15
Local Government 16
International Agency 17
Non-Profit Organization 18
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) 88

_____ 24-25/

20. C. What/who influenced you most to consider/pursue that career choice? (CIRCLE ONE)

Language training 1
Area course work 2
Faculty member(s) in your academic department 3
Area studies center director 4
Area studies faculty 5
Peer influence 6
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) 3

_____ 26/

CARD 08

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21. We are interested in the amount of information you had on employment opportunities **relevant to your graduate training.** Please indicate how much information you had about each of the following employment areas. (Circle the appropriate number)

	No Information				Sufficient Information	
Business or Industry	1	2	3	4	5	27/
Junior College, Two-Year College	1	2	3	4	5	28/
Professional School	1	2	3	4	5	29/
Four Year College	1	2	3	4	5	30/
University	1	2	3	4	5	31/
Elementary/Secondary School System	1	2	3	4	5	32/
Private Foundation	1	2	3	4	5	33/
Museum or Historical Society	1	2	3	4	5	34/
Research Library or Archives	1	2	3	4	5	35/
U.S. Military Service	1	2	3	4	5	36/
U.S. Government, Civilian Employee	1	2	3	4	5	37/
State Government	1	2	3	4	5	38/
Local Government	1	2	3	4	5	39/
International Agency	1	2	3	4	5	40/
Non-Profit Organization	1	2	3	4	5	41/
Other (SPECIFY) _____	1	2	3	4	5	42/

CARD 08

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22. Over the course of your graduate training did you change your initial employment plans?

Yes, changed career plans 1 43/

No, career plans remained the same throughout graduate training ..... 2 ◆ (GO TO Q.23)

A. (IF YES) What caused you to change your plans?

Realized job prospects were very limited in initial choice of field 1 44/

Graduate training led to new career interests 2

Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) 8

_____

_____

In the next section we'd like to know about the employment information, counseling and placement assistance you received during graduate school.

23. Did you receive employment counseling/information to assist you in any of the following? (FOR EACH PERSON WHO ASSISTED YOU, CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

	DESIGNING A GRADUATE PROGRAM					MODIFYING AN EXISTING PROGRAM					UNDERSTANDING THE JOB MARKET					
	Not at All				A lot	Not at All				A lot	Not at All				A lot	
Dissertation director	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	45 47/
Other dissertation committee member(s)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	48 50/
Other faculty in your disciplinary department	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	51 53/
Department Adviser	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	54 56/
Department Placement Office	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	57 59/
Area studies center director(s)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	60 62/
Other center-related faculty	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	63 65/
Other faculty	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	66 68/
School placement office	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	69 71/

CARD 02

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24. Who had primary responsibility for helping you find a job after completion of your Ph.D training? (CIRCLE ONLY ONE) When a faculty member occupied multiple roles, code the **primary** role he or she played for you.

Dissertation director	01	72 73
Other dissertation committee member(s)	02	
Other faculty in your disciplinary department	03	
Department adviser	04	
Departmental placement office	05	
Area studies center director(s)	06	
Other center-related faculty	07	
Other faculty	10	
School placement office	11	
No one helped	12	
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)	88	

_____

CARD 08

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25. A. How important did each of the following people consider job placement for graduate students? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

25. B. How effective was each in helping you obtain your first job? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

	Importance Of Job Placement Not at All Important 1 2 3 4 5 Very Important	Effectiveness Of Job Placement Not at All Effective 1 2 3 4 5 Very Effective	CARD 09
Dissertation director	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	13-14/
Other dissertation committee members	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	15-16/
Other faculty in your disciplinary department	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	17-18/
Department adviser	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	19-20/
Department placement office	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	21-22/
Area studies center director(s)	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	23-24/
Other center-related faculty	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	25-26/
Other faculty	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	27-28/
School placement office	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	29-30/

CARD 09

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26. What activities did those who assisted you in finding a job undertake on your behalf? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

Wrote one general letter of reference to be sent to all potential employers	1	31/
Wrote individual letters of reference to potential employers	2	32/
Made inquiries of academic colleagues about potential jobs	3	33/
Made inquiries of potential government employers	4	34/
Made inquiries of potential private sector employers	5	35/
Arranged interviews with prospective employers	6	36/

27. Are you currently employed?

Yes	1 ◆ (GO TO Q.29)	37/
No	2 ◆ (GO TO Q.28)	

28. A Why not? (CIRCLE PRIMARY REASON)

No appropriate jobs available	1	38/
In the process of seeking employment	2	
Marital or parenting responsibilities	3	
Health reasons	4	
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)	8	

CARD 09

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29. On the next two pages, please list the jobs you have held since leaving graduate school, including years, organization, work activities, relationship to graduate training, and reason for leaving. **List your current job first.** Use the organization and work activity codes from the bottom of the page where possible. If currently unemployed, insert "18" in Column B for current job, then continue listing previous jobs. Also use code "18" for previous periods of unemployment.

A. Years From—To— (list your current job first)	B. Organization Code (from list)	C. Work Activity Code (from list)	D. Annual Salary	E. Part time = 1 or Full time = 2	F. Extent to Which Language Expertise Used on Job					G. Extent to Which Graduate Language Training Prepared You for Job				
					Never				All the time	Poorly prepared				Well prepared
39-42/	43-44/	45-46/	47-51/	52/					53/					54/
					1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
58-61/	62-63/	64-65/	66-70/	71/					72/					73/
					1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
CARD 10 13-16/	17-18/	19-20/	21-25/	26/					27/					28/
					1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
32-35/	36-37/	38-39/	40-44/	45/					46/					47/
					1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
51-54/	55-56/	57-58/	59-63/	64/					65/					66/
					1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
CARD 11 13-16/	17-18/	19-20/	21-25/	26/					27/					28/
					1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

ORGANIZATION CODES

01 = Junior College, Two Year College
02 = Four Year College
03 = University
04 = Professional School
05 = Elementary/Secondary School System
06 = Private Sector Financial Institution
07 = Export/Import Firm
10 = Personal Service Sector (hotel, airlines, etc.)
11 = Manufacturing Firm
12 = Management Consulting Firm
13 = Private Foundation
14 = Museum or Historical Society
15 = Research Library or Archives
16 = U.S. Military Service
17 = U.S. Government, Civilian Employee
29 = State Government
19 = Local Government
20 = International Agency
21 = Non-Profit Organization
18 = Unemployed
88 = Other (PLEASE SPECIFY IN BOX ABOVE)

WORK ACTIVITY CODES

22 = Teaching
23 = Basic Research
24 = Applied Research
25 = Report or Other Technical Writing
26 = Journalistic Writing
27 = Curatorial/Librarian
28 = Management or Administration
18 = Unemployed
88 = Other (PLEASE SPECIFY IN BOX ABOVE)

CARD 09/13/11

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H. Extent to Which Area Studies Expertise Used on Job						I. Extent to Which Graduate Area Studies Prepared You for Job						J. If you left a job, reason for leaving job
Never					All the time	Poorly prepared					Well prepared	(insert a code 1-7 from the list at bottom)
					55/						56/	57/
1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5		
					74/						75/	76/
1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5		
					29/						30/	31/
1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5		
					48/						49/	50/
1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5		
					67/						68/	69/
1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5		
					29/						30/	31/
1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5		

CODES FOR J
1 = unable to use training
2 = did not receive tenure or was fired
3 = temporary position (non-renewable)
4 = offered a better job
5 = wages inadequate
6 = promotion prospects uncertain or inadequate
7 = family or personal considerations

CARD 09/10/11

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30. Over the course of your career how many of the following have you produced?

Authored books	_____	32-33/
Edited books	_____	34-35/
Chapters in edited collection	_____	36-37/
Refereed professional journal articles	_____	38-39/
Research monographs/technical papers	_____	40-41/
Papers presented at professional meetings	_____	42-43/
Articles for popular magazines or newspapers	_____	44-45/

The next two questions are for those who received a FLAS/NDFL fellowship, but who discontinued their language and area studies before obtaining a Ph.D. All others skip to Q. 33.

31. When did you decide **not** to continue your area studies or language specialization?

During 1st year of graduate study 1	46/
After completing 1 year 2	
After completing 2 years 3	
After completing 3 years 4	
After completing 4 years 5	
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)	
_____ 8	

32. Why did you leave area studies? (Rank order as many of the six categories below that apply to your case; 1=major reason for leaving area studies; 2=next reason, etc.)

	Rank Order Number	
Too much language study needed	_____	47/
Area courses not as interesting as I originally thought	_____	48/
Other topics in core discipline were more interesting	_____	49/
Better career opportunities for non-area studies graduate	_____	50/
NDFL/FLAS fellowship not renewed	_____	51/
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____	_____	52/

CARD 11

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33 **The next set of questions only applies to those currently employed by academic institutions. All other respondents who are employed skip to Q. 41. Respondents who are currently unemployed please skip to Q. 49A.**

34 A What is your present rank?

53/

- Lecturer 1
- Instructor 2
- Assistant Professor 3
- Associate Professor 4
- Professor 5
- Research Associate/Member of Research Organization 6
- Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) 8

_____

34 B What kind of appointment do you have?

54/

- Visiting 1
- Adjunct 2
- Acting 3
- Tenure track, but presently untenured 4
- Regular or tenure 5
- Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) 8

_____

34 C Are your teaching responsibilities:

55/

- Entirely undergraduate 1
- Some undergraduate, some graduate 2
- Entirely graduate 3
- Not applicable, no teaching responsibilities 9

CARD 11

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35. Have you received any research funding over the past three years? (CARD 12)

Yes 1 13/

No ..... 2 ◆ GO TO Q.35C

35. A. (IF YES) What was the:

	SOURCE	AMOUNT	LENGTH OF FUNDING (IN MONTHS)	PURPOSE OF GRANT OR CONTRACT	
1.					14-25/
2.					26-37/
3.					38-49/

35. B. Generally, how difficult has it been for you to obtain research funding **over the past three years**? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

	Very Difficult				Little or No Difficulty	Not Applicable	
PAST THREE YEARS	1	2	3	4	5	9	50/

35. C. **Prior to three years ago**, how difficult was it? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

Very Difficult				Little or No Difficulty	Not Applicable	
1	2	3	4	5	9	51/

If you have never taught language or area studies, skip to question 48.

36. Are your current teaching, research and other activities more concerned with your disciplinary or with your regional/area expertise? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

	Disciplinary Without Regional Focus				Wholly Concerned With Region	Not Applicable	
TEACHING	1	2	3	4	5	9	52/
RESEARCH	1	2	3	4	5	9	53/
PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE OWN INSTITUTION	1	2	3	4	5	9	54/

CARD 12

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37. Does your institution have an organized language and area studies program on your region or country(s) of current interest?

Yes 1 55/

No ..... 2 ◆ GO TO Q.38

37. A. If yes, does it provide **you** with substantial benefits?

Yes 1 56/

No 2

Please explain your answer _____ 57-58/

_____

_____

_____

38. Do you use the facilities (i.e., library, etc.) or regularly participate in activities of a world area program/center at another U.S. academic institution?

Yes 1 59/

No 2

39. Irrespective of whether there is an organized world area program on your campus, about how many faculty members (including yourself) specialize in your world area?

Number of faculty today _____ 60-61/

Number of area faculty when you were first hired _____ 62-63/

40. A. When you were hired for your **current** teaching or research position, what would you estimate were the values (in terms of percentages) placed on your area expertise as compared with disciplinary expertise?

Area _____% + Discipline _____% = 100% 64-67/

40. B. If you were hired today, what would those values be?

Area _____% + Discipline _____% = 100% ◆ GO TO Q.48 68-71/

CARD 12

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41. **The next set of questions only *applies to those area specialists currently holding nonacademic jobs.* All others who are currently employed please skip to Q.48. Respondents who are presently unemployed please skip to Q. 49A.**

42. What was the *primary* reason you took your current job?
(CIRCLE ONLY ONE)

Best job available 1 72/
No other job available 2
Did not want to work at an academic institution 3
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) 8
_____
_____

43. Rank order each of the following skills according to their importance when you were hired for your current job? (1=most important; 2=next most important)

	Rank Order	
Disciplinary background	_____	73/
Language skills	_____	74/
Area studies knowledge	_____	75/
Other skills (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____	_____	76/
_____		
_____		

44. A. How many other people employed in your organization have similar *world area or language expertise as you?*

#_____ 77-78/

44. B. How many have similar *disciplinary training* (e.g., in political science, literature, history, etc.)?

#_____ 79-80/

45. A. Does your current job require any of the following foreign language skills? CARD 13

Speaking ..... 1 } 13/
Writing ..... 2 } GO TO Q.45B 14/
Reading ..... 3 } 15/

CARD 12/13

None required ..... 4 ➧ GO TO Q.46 16/

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45. B. Rank each of the following language skills according to your use of them in your current job (1 = most frequently used; 2 = less frequently used; 3 = least frequently used; 9 = not used at all).

	Rank Order	
Speaking	_____	17/
Writing	_____	18/
Reading	_____	19/

46. Please specify (with examples if possible) how you use your language and area studies training on your current job.

_____ 20-21/

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

None used at all 99

47. Has your employer either required that you obtain additional training or provided you with on-the-job training in an area outside your graduate specialization?

Yes ..... 1 ◆ GO TO Q.47A 22/

No 2

47. A. (IF YES) Please describe the training.

_____ 23-24/

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

CARD 13

AVAILABLE

48. How would you rate your **current** job on the following dimensions: (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

	Poor		Fair		Excellent	
Opportunity to use graduate training	1	2	3	4	5	25/
Intellectual stimulation and development	1	2	3	4	5	26/
Opportunity to learn new skills	1	2	3	4	5	27/
Interaction with colleagues in the same discipline	1	2	3	4	5	28/
Interaction with colleagues in the same world area	1	2	3	4	5	29/
Opportunity to work on issues of current social and political importance	1	2	3	4	5	30/
Overall job satisfaction	1	2	3	4	5	31/

49. A. Since graduate school, how many times have you visited the region you specialized in during your training?

#_____ times 32-33/

49. B. Please indicate the number of visits you have made of each time duration.

	# of Visits	
1—3 weeks	_____	34-35/
6-10 weeks	_____	36-37/
6 months	_____	38-39/
1 year or more	_____	40-41/

CARD 13

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50. As you look back on the graduate training you have had, do you think the amount you received in each of the following areas was:
(CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

	Too Little		About Right		Too Much	Not Applicable	
Social science courses on world area	1	2	3	4	5	9	42/
Humanities courses on world area	1	2	3	4	5	9	43/
Language courses	1	2	3	4	5	9	44/
Courses on the *premodern period* in your world area	1	2	3	4	5	9	45/
Courses on the *modern period* in your world area	1	2	3	4	5	9	46/
Nonarea courses in your *disciplinary major*	1	2	3	4	5	9	47/
Policy analysis, statistics, computing courses	1	2	3	4	5	9	48/
Courses offered by various *professional schools*	1	2	3	4	5	9	49/

51. If you were to generalize for all of your graduate courses, how would you rate the following on their general academic quality:
(CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

	Poor				Excellent	Not Applicable	
Social science courses on world area	1	2	3	4	5	9	50/
Humanities courses on world area	1	2	3	4	5	9	51/
Language courses	1	2	3	4	5	9	52/
Courses on the *premodern period* in your world area	1	2	3	4	5	9	53/
Courses on the *modern period* in your world area	1	2	3	4	5	9	54/
Nonarea courses in your *disciplinary major*	1	2	3	4	5	9	55/
Policy analysis, statistics, computing courses	1	2	3	4	5	9	56/
Courses offered by various *professional schools*	1	2	3	4	5	9	57/

CARD 13

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52 Listed below are some common components of graduate language training. Please rate each one included in your language training for its effectiveness in improving your overall language competency. (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

	Not effective at all				Very effective	Not included in own training	
Oral-aural drill	1	2	3	4	5	8	58/
Grammar instruction	1	2	3	4	5	9	59/
Practice in translation	1	2	3	4	5	9	60/
Familiarization with different styles of language usage	1	2	3	4	5	9	61/
Language training in country where spoken	1	2	3	4	5	9	62/
Classroom time	1	2	3	4	5	9	63/
Language lab time	1	2	3	4	5	9	64/
Opportunities to use the language	1	2	3	4	5	9	65/
Computer assisted training	1	2	3	4	5	9	66/
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____	1	2	3	4	5	9	67/

CARD 13

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53. If you were advising a graduate student today who was interested in language and area studies, would you recommend that he or she enter Ph.D. training? Why or why not?

(IF YES): What advice would you give about choice of discipline, mix of area studies/language training and disciplinary courses, and ultimately about career choices?

54. If you were to make recommendations for the future direction of language and area studies in the U.S., what would be some of the main points you would emphasize?

55. Are there any general comments you would like to make about your graduate training and its relationship to your subsequent career and intellectual development?

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE.
PLEASE MAIL IT BACK TO US AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

Questions That Appeared Only on the
Non-Ph.D. Survey Instrument

7 **When you entered graduate school,** what was the highest degree you planned to earn?

A Master's degree	1	23/
A Ph.D.	2	
Other (please specify)	8	

A. **At this time,** do you plan to earn a Ph.D.?

Yes	1	24/
No	2 ◆ (GO TO Q.8)	

B. (IF YES) When do you expect to receive your degree? _____ YEAR 25 26/

C. Will your Ph.D. be in the same discipline as your M.A.?

Yes	1 ◆ (GO TO Q.9)	27/
No	2	

D. (IF NO) In what discipline do you expect to earn a Ph.D.?

Discipline _____ ◆ (GO TO Q.9) 28 30/

8 (FOR THOSE WHO DO NOT PLAN TO RECEIVE A Ph.D.) Why did you decide not to earn a Ph.D.? (CIRCLE YOUR **ONE** MOST IMPORTANT REASON)

My career interests did not require a Ph.D.	1	31/
Employment prospects seemed limited or uncertain for Ph.D.s	2	
I lacked the necessary financial resources to complete Ph.D. training	3	
I was not admitted for doctoral study	4	
I was enrolled in a Ph.D. program but my academic performance did not qualify me to continue in the program	5	
Marital or parenting responsibilities made it too difficult for me to complete a Ph.D.	6	
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)	8	

9. Which of the following had you completed as of October 1, 1982? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

All requirements for a Master's degree	1	32/
All required coursework for a Ph.D.	2	33/
Passed Ph.D. comprehensive examinations	3	34/
Collected all or most of the data/materials for Ph.D. dissertation	4	35/
Some writing of Ph.D. dissertation	5	36/

27. What was your employment status as of October 1, 1982? (CIRCLE ONLY ONE CATEGORY)

Employed full-time in field of graduate study	1 ▶ (GO TO Q.28)	58/
Employed full-time in field other than field of graduate study	2 ▶ (GO TO Q.27A)	
Employed part-time	3 ▶ (GO TO Q.27B)	
Unemployed and seeking employment	4 } (GO TO Q.28)	
Not employed and not seeking employment	5 } (GO TO Q.28)	
Retired and not employed	6 } (GO TO Q.28)	
Other (Please specify) _____	8 } (GO TO Q.28)	

CARD 02

27A (IF EMPLOYED FULL-TIME OUTSIDE FIELD OF GRADUATE STUDY) What was the most important reason for taking the position? (CIRCLE ONE)

Preferred position outside field of graduate study	1	59/
Promoted out of position in graduate study field	2	
Better pay	3	(GO TO Q.28)
Locational factors	4	
Position in graduate study field not available	5	
Other (Please specify)	8	

27B (IF EMPLOYED PART-TIME) Were you seeking full-time employment as of October 1, 1982?

Yes	1	60/
No	2	

CARD 09

39. Rank order each of the following skills according to their importance when you were hired for your current job? (1 = most important, 2 = next most imprtant, etc.)

	Rank Order	CARD 12
Disciplinary background	_____	13/
Language skills	_____	14/
Area studies knowledge	_____	15/
Managerial skills and experience	_____	16/
Writing and communication skills	_____	17/
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)	_____	18/
_____		
_____		

(This is an expansion of Question 43 on the FLAS Ph.D. Questionnaire.)

42. How do you use your langauge and area studies training on your current job?

Translating documents	1	27/
Communicating with foreign officials and clients	2	28/
Analyzing political and socioeconomic trends in countries of regional specialization	3	29/
In other ways (PLEASE SPECIFY)	8	30/
_____		
_____		
None used at all	9	31/

44 In an average work week, what proportion of your time do you typically spend on the following activities:

Management or administration	_____%	35-36/
Reading materials in a language indigenous to your world area specialization	_____%	37-38/
Speaking a language indigenous to your world area specialization	_____%	39-40/
Writing in a language indigenous to your world area specialization	_____%	41-42/
Making decisions or providing analysis and advice based on your world area expertise	_____%	43-44/
Basic or applied research **unrelated** to world area specialization	_____%	45-46/
Basic or applied research **related** to world area specialization	_____%	47-48/
Development of equipment, products, systems, data	_____%	49-50/
Writing, editing	_____%	51-52/
Curatorial	_____%	53-54/
Production	_____%	55-56/
Consulting (PLEASE SPECIFY)	_____%	57-58/
_____		
Professional services to individuals	_____%	59-60/
Quality control, inspection, testing	_____%	61-62/
Sales, marketing, purchasing	_____%	63-64/
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)		
_____	_____%	65-66/
	100%	

CARD 12